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The Nation.

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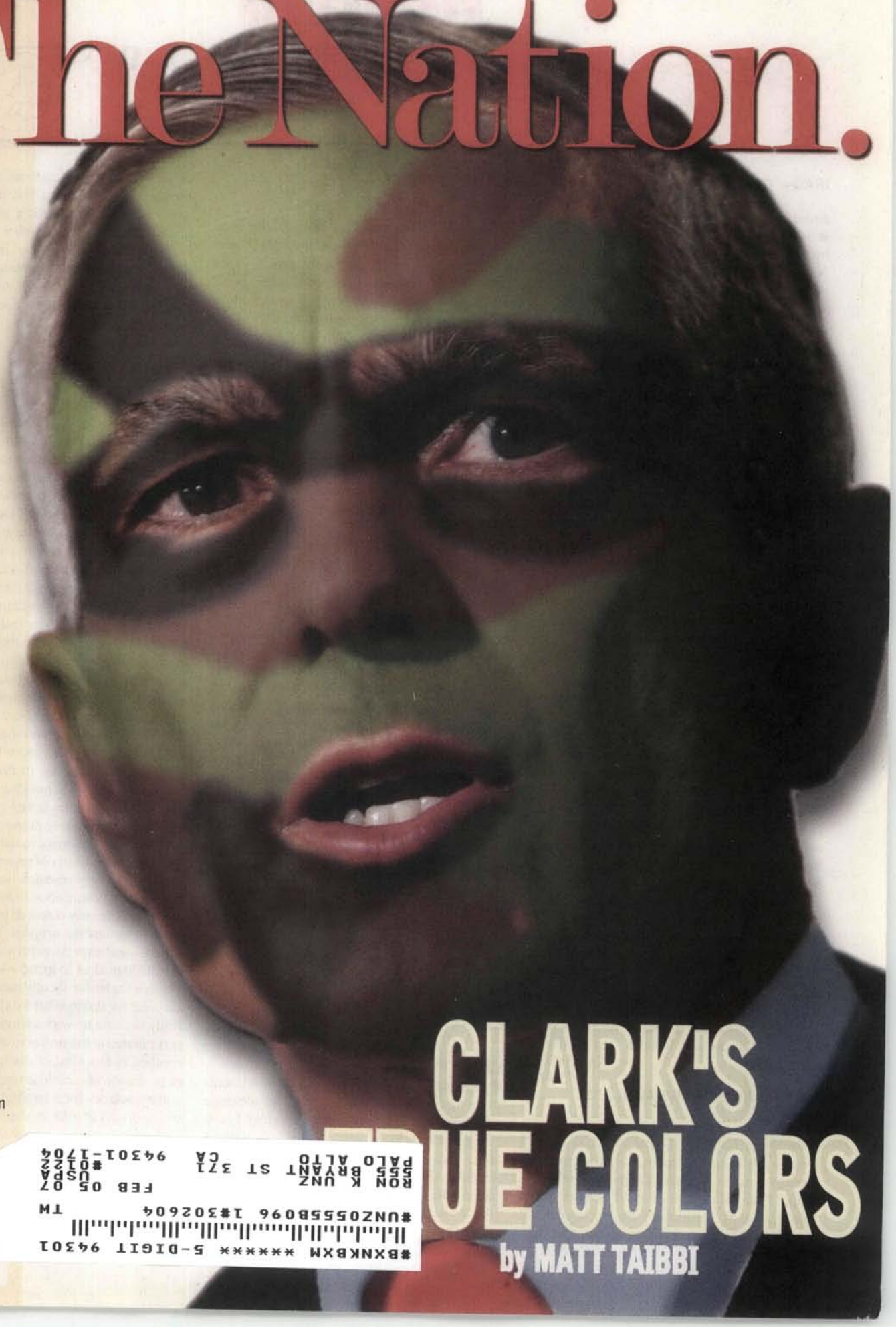
KILLING MEDICARE
Trudy Lieberman

BUSH DOES BRITAIN
Maria Margaronis

WHY I'M FOR DEAN
William Greider

THE ROOTS OF TERRORISM
Baruch Kimmerling



CLARK'S TRUE COLORS

by MATT TAIBBI

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LETTERS

IRAQ—'CAPITALIST DREAM'

Brookline, Mass.

■ Surely other *Nation* readers were puzzled by some of the assertions in Naomi Klein's November 24 "Lookout" column, on Order 39 of the Coalition Provisional Authority in Iraq, which *The Economist* called "a capitalist dream." Order 39 (www.cpa-iraq.org/regulations) does some of the things Klein and *The Economist* claim but not others. For example, it permits foreigners to own all or part of an Iraqi company (but not a bank) and to move resources out of Iraq freely. However, Klein also says that under the order "200 Iraqi state companies would be privatized" and that "foreign firms can retain 100 percent ownership of Iraqi banks." *The Economist* further says, "Income and corporate taxes would be capped at 15%. Tariffs would be slashed to a universal 5% rate." The text of Order 39 does not contain any of these provisions. The bulk of Klein's article was directed at her claim about privatization. Where in Order 39 did she find that "Iraqi state companies would be privatized"? CRAIG BOLON

KLEIN REPLIES

Toronto

■ On September 19, the Coalition Provisional Authority introduced a package of radical financial reforms transforming Iraq's economy, reforms illegal under international law. Craig Bolon is right that not all those reforms were covered under Order 39. The rest were covered by orders announced at the same time: Order 40 (which opened up six Iraqi banks for full foreign ownership) and Order 37 (which lowered Iraq's highest tax rate from 45 percent to the flat 15 percent). By eliminating all restrictions on foreign ownership in these areas, the privatization of Iraq's 200 state firms—previously banned by Iraq's Constitution—became possible. This was widely reported at the time by sources other than *The Economist*, including the *Washington Post* (Rajiv Chandrasekaran, "Economic Overhaul for Iraq: Only Oil Excluded From Foreign Ownership," Sept. 22) and the *Financial Times* (Alan Beattie, "Radical plan to open Iraq economy," Sept. 21). NAOMI KLEIN

MAKING AIDS DRUGS AVAILABLE

Boonville, Calif.

■ Re Esther Kaplan's "Dying for AIDS Drugs" [Nov. 3]: Maybe I'm naïve, but why can't the wealthy nations purchase the patents on AIDS drugs? Then the medicines could be made available to those who need them. Buying the patents may ultimately be cheaper than buying the drugs themselves. CHARLES HOLZHAUER

KAPLAN REPLIES

Brooklyn, NY

■ Charles Holzhauer's idea has actually been floated by Jamie Love of the Consumer Project on Technology (a Ralph Nader group). He's proposed a government-mandated "patent pool" for lifesaving drugs, which would pave the way for cheap, generic drug production.

ESTHER KAPLAN

DOWN ON THE FARM

Oshkosh, Wisc.

■ I am not given to emotion, but Barbara Kingsolver's "A Good Farmer" [Nov. 3] brought a tear to my eye. As she so eloquently points out, sooner or later we must own up to our dependency on the land. We have abandoned our agrarian roots and accepted the notion that it is acceptable to destroy the planet and starve people so a small minority can make a profit. A farmboy at heart, I can only hope that it isn't too late to turn things around. MATTHEW FURE

Marlin, Wash.

■ Thank you for drawing attention to the problems in rural America. Government policies have become a cancer to our family farm and our small town. In the past forty years, we have lost our school, store, tavern, grain co-op and many of our farm neighbors. It is sad to see century-old farmhouses bulldozed because the family farmer was starved out and replaced by a large corporate farm. Politicians must wake up and realize the importance of having a sound rural economy made up of families who still believe in the ideals this country was founded on.

Family farms and businesses keep this a democratic country. When children grow up helping in a family-run business, they learn life lessons that can't be learned in school. Lately, our area children are learning about getting government assistance, government jobs or working for peanuts for corporations. This is more like communism or oligarchy. My ancestors left their homelands for the American dream. My children are seeing this dream die before their eyes.

KATHERINE R. LESSER

Chetek, Wisc.

■ Barbara Kingsolver's story is like the accounts years ago in *Mother Earth News*. As someone who tried the same thing thirty years ago, I have one comment. First, you need money upfront to buy that lovely little homestead, and you still need an exterior source of income. Or, second, lacking the first, you need the gumption to work like a slave at ball-busting work, sixteen to twenty hours per day, 365 days per year and get lucky to boot. Without a good outside income or great luck, almost unheard of in the farming business, it is a dream that most people will never realize. Farming is a grueling business always at the mercy of Mother Nature.

I wish Barbara and her family good luck. And I wish our system supported people like her who wanted to farm small and nontoxic with hands in the dirt, sowing the seed and reaping a harvest; knowing and loving the animals that will someday feed them. JOHN M. HARDIN

DERSHOWITZ REDUX

Cambridge, Mass.

■ Alexander Cockburn realizes that, as one columnist characterized him, "as an accuser, Joe McCarthy was more responsible." So he has invoked a purported neutral academic expert to lend credence to his preposterous plagiarism charge ["Beat the Devil," Oct. 13; "Letters," Oct. 27]. It turns out, however, that his "expert" is as biased, irresponsible and wrong as he is. Sayres Rudy is not a "professor." So far as I can determine, he has no PhD. He has no permanent teaching job. He is an academic vagabond with little experience and even less knowledge about academic disciplinary matters. He is also, not coincidentally, an ideological soul mate of Cockburn on Israel, having signed petitions that accuse Israel but not Palestinian terrorist organizations of war crimes. I have read the disciplinary and plagiarism codes that he cites and cannot find anything even close to what Cockburn has falsely accused me of doing. More important, Harvard Law School's extremely demanding definition of plagiarism makes it clear that what I did was entirely proper. Moreover, I did it completely in the open. In the galley proofs that were sent to hundreds of reviewers, I included an instruction to my research assistant to cite several sources I came upon in Joan Peters's book. I also instructed my research staff to check these sources against the original. The experts I consulted—real experts, with vast experience and no ideological ax to grind—know of no case in which a student or faculty member was ever disciplined for doing what I did. I challenge Prof. Rudy to come up with a single case in which he participated at the universities he mentions that resulted in any kind of discipline for a student or professor who cited original rather than secondary sources for a handful of quotations (out of hundreds) that he or she originally found in a secondary source with whose conclusions he disagrees, checked them against the originals and then cited the originals. Although the names of students are generally kept confidential, the charges are often made public so that students can learn from the "common law." He will be

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Cover by Gene Case & Stephen Kling/ Avenging Angels; photo by Getty. Illustrations by R.O. Blechman, Peter O. Zierlein

EDITORIALS

No Pig Left Behind

The corruptions of Washington are hidden in plain sight. It's no secret that there's a pay-to-play ethos that links legislators, contributors and lobbyists, and results in legislation more attuned to corporate interests than the public's. This, unfortunately, is not scandalous; it is SOP. Yet once in a while the hogs of Washington outdo themselves—as they have done in the writing of the Medicare and energy bills.

With the Medicare legislation, the White House and the Republican leaders of Congress (aided by two Senate Democrats, Max Baucus and John Breaux) produced a measure that grants seniors a spotty prescription drug benefit while rewarding two of the GOP's most generous supporters: the pharmaceutical industry and the health insurance industry. The bill inhibits the reimportation of more affordable drugs from Canada and blocks the federal government from using its purchasing power to negotiate deep discounts for prescription drugs. Why prevent the government from using marketplace forces to save money? To help the pharmaceutical firms, already quite profitable, make even more money. Drug manufacturers stand to gain about $139 billion in extra profits over eight years from the $400 billion Medicare act, and the bill puts no pressure on them to lower the cost of their products. The health insurance industry could reap an extra $12 billion a year because of provisions that would permit a partial privatization of Medicare in some areas of the country. Could Congress and the White House concoct legislation creating a drug benefit without adding in goodies for their corporate benefactors? Do pigs enjoy rolling in mud? It's no coincidence that the drug manufacturers fared so well after dispensing $60 million in political contributions since 2000 and spending $37.7 million in lobbying in only the first six months of 2003. Putting down $100 million to bring in more than $100 billion—now that's return on investment.

The energy bill went even further in terms of rewarding patrons. It would have doled out billions in tax breaks—or corporate welfare—to traditional energy companies, dwarfing the amounts reserved for renewable energy and energy efficiency. The nuclear energy industry would have bagged about $6 billion in tax credits. Ethanol producers in the Midwest were richly awarded. The legislation eased clean air rules for utilities (medical experts predict hundreds of thousands of additional asthma attacks a year as a result). It also weakened regulations governing the mergers of utilities and repealed the Public Utility Holding Company Act of 1935, which shielded consumers and investors from risky, Enron-like business decisions made by utilities. And it protected manufacturers of MTBE, a gasoline additive that has contaminated drinking water in many states, from lawsuits. As the *Washington Post* noted, the energy bill handed out billions in assistance to firms headed by at least twenty-two executives and their spouses who are either Pioneers or Rangers for Bush's re-election campaign. Pioneers rustle up $100,000 for the campaign; Rangers pledge to collect $200,000.

The Medicare bill, with the support of a small but decisive number of Senate Democrats and the backing of AARP, passed; the energy bill failed by two votes in the Senate, though Republicans will probably try to resurrect it when senators return to Washington in January. But both pieces of legislation tell the same ugly story. In the Washington of George W. Bush, Tom DeLay and Bill Frist, industry—that is, corporate patrons—comes first. And too many Democrats are accomplices. This year in Congress did see a few encouraging moments: The Democrats vigorously opposed several of Bush's right-wing judicial nominees, and Republicans and Democrats joined to defeat the White House–backed effort to loosen rules on media ownership. But far too often the public interest was shoved aside for the benefit of private interests. No news flash there. But the best response is not there-they-go-again cynicism but outrage and opposition. Note to AARP members: Rise up!

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COMMENT

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Killing Medicare

The Medicare "reform" legislation just passed by Congress sends the program on a path to destruction. Crafted in the heady days of the Great Society, Medicare has worked reasonably well for almost four decades for seniors and disabled Americans, many of whom are unable to buy health coverage in the private market. But the nation's financial commitment to Medicare—$224 billion in 2000—got in the way of the right's ideological goals of reducing the cost of government and making people fend for themselves. So nearly a decade ago right-wing politicians and their allies at the Heritage Foundation embarked on a campaign to transform Medicare into a private insurance program and ultimately to remove the government from the business of guaranteeing healthcare for the oldest and sickest citizens.

The new law lays the foundation for cutting benefits and increasing the amount of money beneficiaries will pay for care. The right knew it could never get control of Medicare's expenditures by overtly cutting benefits and raising premiums, so embedded in the legislation are provisions that give cover for doing exactly that. The so-called cap on what the government can spend on the total Medicare program is essentially a trigger that requires Medicare trustees to declare the program insolvent when spending from general tax revenues reaches 45 percent of the inevitably rising program expenditures. The $400 billion set aside for the prescription drug benefit will be financed through the general revenues. (Medicare is also financed through payroll taxes and premiums paid by beneficiaries.) Opponents say this arbitrary definition of insolvency aims at creating a crisis and generating political momentum for benefit cuts and more cost sharing.

The first step toward privatization mandates that private insurers, not the government, provide prescription drug benefits, the legislation's ostensible raison d'être. The government will funnel money to the insurance plans, which could then charge a premium to beneficiaries. Only in special circumstances will Medicare be allowed to offer drug coverage directly. In 2010 privatization will accelerate when commercial health plans in certain metropolitan areas will be able to sell insurance benefits in direct competition with those offered by traditional Medicare. Legislative architects hope that cheaper premiums and richer benefits will entice seniors to leave Medicare. Those offers will target the healthiest people, who won't cost insurers a lot of money. The sick will be stuck in the traditional program, unwanted by commercial carriers and forced to pay escalating premiums, since there will be less money available. For those who leave there are no guarantees.

The current experience with the Medicare HMO market provides a clue to the future. A decade ago Medicare HMOs lured beneficiaries with generous benefits and charged no extra premiums. But when Medicare slashed payments to them, they reduced benefits and began charging premiums as well as high deductibles and co-payments. The experience in California shows what can happen. The Center for Consumer Health Choices at Consumers Union, in its ongoing study of the California Medicare market, found that the once-rich coverage offered by HMOs

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withered substantially as government payments declined relative to the costs of providing care. Next year, for example, Kaiser Foundation Health Plan will no longer offer brand-name drug coverage, leaving most of the state's beneficiaries without coverage for the most expensive drugs.

The modest drug coverage authorized in the bill is hardly worth the price of privatization. Those with chronic illnesses and ongoing drug expenses will see little benefit because of the convoluted benefit structure. The average Medicare beneficiary, who is currently without drug coverage and who spends about $2,300 on prescriptions, will actually spend $2,900 in 2007 even with the new benefit, assuming drug costs continue to rise at the same rate. That's likely, since Congress has placed no cost controls on pharmaceuticals and indeed expressly forbids the government from using its muscle to bargain for lower drug prices, as it does in the Veterans Administration health system. Also, the bill makes it virtually impossible to reimport cheaper drugs from Canada. And although the bill authorizes subsidies for very-low-income seniors to help pay increasing premiums, co-payments and deductibles, some 3 million people will lose out because of eligibility limits placed on income and assets. Those just over the line will struggle mightily.

The bill does, however, represent brilliant political strategy on the part of its proponents, who began seeking allies as far back as 1995. AARP's support was not surprising, given that right-wing interests attacked its tax exemption that year and that then-Senator Alan Simpson of Wyoming, who had opened an investigation, told AARP officials, "I want you to know that the intensity of my investigation will be directly related to your fight on Medicare." AARP got the message. The financial goodies for special interests—eliminating the planned payment cuts to doctors, the $25 billion to rural hospitals and doctors, the $12 billion in special payments to entice private insurers to offer benefits—insured the support of powerful lobbyists and gave wavering lawmakers a reason to support the measure. Arkansas Senator Blanche Lincoln said she voted for the bill because the extra money was helpful to rural health providers.

Over time, the legislation will splinter political interests, predicts Harvard government professor Theda Skocpol. "The genius of Medicare was that it included poor people and the middle class. It wasn't designed as charity or welfare," she says. That solidarity will crack as people no longer get the same benefits or even pay the same premiums. The wealthiest beneficiaries will now pay more. With people getting benefits from Aetna, Cigna and Blue Cross, what reason will they have to support Medicare? One thing the new bill won't provide is help understanding its bewildering new rules. That's because the final legislation stripped out $40 million that had been earmarked for state insurance counseling programs.

The repercussions from this legislation will be felt years from now when seniors and the disabled realize that they can't pay for their healthcare. Couple that with the prospect of less retirement income as employers shed their pension plans and the right begins to push hard for privatizing Social Security, and a picture emerges of impoverished elderly people like those seen before Medicare was phased in, in 1965. Two years before, President Kennedy, quoting historian Arnold Toynbee, noted in a special message to Congress that "a society's quality and durability can best be measured 'by the respect and care given its elderly citizens.'" The Medicare bill tells us how much has changed since Kennedy's time.

TRUDY LIEBERMAN

Trudy Lieberman is the director of the Center for Consumer Health Choices at Consumers Union. Her latest book is Slanting the Story: The Forces That Shape the News *(New Press).*

Why I'm for Dean

First, the rivals saw him as a McGovernite lefty from the 1960s. When that didn't take, they decided to depict him as a right-wing clone of Newt Gingrich who wants to dismantle Medicare and Social Security. Finally, opponents sold political reporters on the story of Mr. Malaprop, an oddball from tiny, liberal Vermont so insensitive to the nuances of American politics his mouth will destroy him. Howard Dean surged ahead through all this. The other candidates and witting collaborators in the press got him wrong every time.

Howard Dean is an odd duck, certainly, in the milieu of the contemporary Democratic Party. He is, I surmise, a tough and savvy politician of the old school—a shrewd, intuitive pol who develops his own sense of where the people are and where events are likely to take public opinion, then has the guts to act on his perceptions. That approach—leading, it's called—seems dangerously unscientific in this era of high-quality polling and focus groups, the data interpreted for politicians by expensive consultants. The press corps has not had much experience with Democrats of this type, so reporters read Dean's style as emotional, possibly a character flaw. He reminds me of olden days when Democrats were a more contentious bunch, always fighting noisily among themselves and often with creative results.

The ubiquitous "party sources" have explained that Dean merely caught a lucky break by declaring early and forcefully against the war on Iraq at a time when Americans were overwhelmingly prowar. Who knew things might change? The doctor knew.

A more pertinent question is, Why didn't other leading candidates see this tragedy coming? Their reticence was symptomatic of the inert Washington insiders, exceedingly cautious, indifferent to whatever roils the party's rank and file, and always a few steps behind the curve. The explanation that Washington candidates voted for the war on principle or were misled by Bush doesn't help them. Their blindness to the potential consequences (now unfolding) is another reason to be for Dean. He, meanwhile, speaks plainly to the error of US imperialism. "America is not Rome. We do not dream of empire. We dream of liberty for all."

The man also stands his ground in a fight. When someone jabs him, he jabs back. Pundits describe this quality as dangerous, and no doubt it gets him into trouble occasionally, but what a refreshing departure from the rope-a-dope calculations of the Clinton era. This trait is what I like about him most. In my experience, it's

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COMMENT

more revealing than a politician's positions on issues. With issues, Dean is pretty much what he says: a middle-of-the-road moderate, neither left nor right, though middle in Vermont is liberal ground. As governor, he was skilled at maneuvering through contending forces, sometimes angering both sides in the process.

I first observed these qualities during Dean's second-to-last term as governor. Vermonters were inflamed—everyone was coming after him—when he and Democratic legislators enacted the infamous Act 60, a school-financing-equalization law that compelled the "gold towns" to share their property-tax revenues with poorer townships. Faced with general outrage, Dean barked back at the storm. The remark I remember reading in the *Rutland Herald* went something like this: "I know why people are angry at me. They've been getting away with low tax rates and well-financed schools. They're not going to be able to do that anymore."

Wow, I thought. This is a different kind of politician—no ducking the blame, no cute obfuscation. The law isn't perfect, Dean added. We will fix it later if we have to. (They did.) Vermont progressives were upset, too, because Dean had refused to consider raising income taxes to finance the schools. His logic, however, was more liberal than it appeared. Raising income taxes would put all the burden on Vermonters, many of whom are poor. Raising property taxes—with a generous homestead exemption for full-time residents—put the big hit on the out-of-state people who own so many lovely vacation homes there. Dean did not explain this to the "flatlanders," but we figured it out.

The governor has shown flashes of the same bluntness in his prime-time campaigning. Last summer, he told a revealing story on himself—a conversation with Robert Rubin, the former Treasury Secretary and Wall Street's main money guy for Democrats. Rubin had warned that unless Dean stopped attacking NAFTA and the multinationals for the migration of US jobs, he couldn't raise contributions for him from the financial sector. As Dean told it, "I said, 'Bob, tell me what your solution is.' He said, 'I'll have to get back to you.' I haven't heard from him." What I like so much about the story is that powerful, influential Bob Rubin pokes Dean in the chest, and he pokes him back. Then Dean discloses the exchange to the *Washington Post*.

In the higher realms of politics, this is not done. But he is not one of them. And this is no longer the era for "triangulation" between the business-financial money patrons and the party's main constituencies. That new spirit, more than any single issue, is what has drawn together Dean's vibrant and growing base, buoying his candidacy with millions in small contributions. Dean is opening the possibility of transforming politics—shaking up the tired, timid old order, inviting plain-wrapper citizens back into an active role—and that's why so many people, myself included, are for him. Full disclosure: I am among the throngs who have been invited to contribute "forward-looking ideas" to his campaign (I was flattered to be asked and pleased to oblige, with no naïve expectations).

Dean, I suspect, learned in the up-close-and-personal politics of Vermont that you don't win elections by keeping the people at a safe distance. You can't do it in that state, even if you try. He governed with strong, well-organized progressives and environmentalists on one flank, conservative business interests on the other and a mass of native working-class Vermonters who don't much care for either. Dean collected a lot of lumps and resentments, many compromises and setbacks, in ten years as governor. Insiders remember him as shifty and unreliable. But he also learned how to stand his ground in a fight.

All that helps explain why the party establishment had a hard time understanding the man and is so upset by the thought that he might be the nominee. Corny as it sounds, he might actually bring voters back into the story. Washington's smugness was shattered in the past few weeks as Dean picked up pathbreaking endorsements from Representative Jesse Jackson Jr. and SEIU and AFSCME, the two largest unions and heads-up, aggressive organizations. Dean continues to up the ante for his rivals—calling for reregulation of key industries and confronting the concentrated power of corporations and wealth. These are solid liberal ideas others are afraid to express so directly. The guy is a better politician than the insiders imagined, indeed better attuned to this season than they are.

It's still early and Dean will be field-tested in the next few months, but so will they. If the party establishment succeeds in derailing him or declines to rally around him as the nominee, Democratic status as the minority party may turn out to be a very long Vermont winter.

WILLIAM GREIDER

CALVIN TRILLIN

GEORGE W. BUSH REACHES FOR THE GEEZER VOTE

Bush needs to lure some seniors to his side,
And so this bill on Medicare was crafted.
His world view's also fine with some of them,
Since, after all, they're too old to be drafted.

The Bubble

London

The explosions in Istanbul during George W. Bush's state visit to Britain lit up the enormous gulf between the officials sealed in their security bubble and the mass of protesters who filled London's streets for the fifth time in a year—a gulf of deep disagreements about ends, means and the roots of terrorism. On the day of the first attacks on British targets, ascribed to Al Qaeda, Bush and Blair continued to insist that they are winning the "war on terror" and that violence must be curbed with violence. In Trafalgar Square a young woman held up her answer on a placard: WAR IS PEACE. FREEDOM IS SLAVERY. IGNORANCE IS STRENGTH.

There's no mistaking the message of Bush's London holiday. From the moment his armored helicopter touched down under cover of darkness behind Buckingham Palace, London became

(Continued on Page 21)

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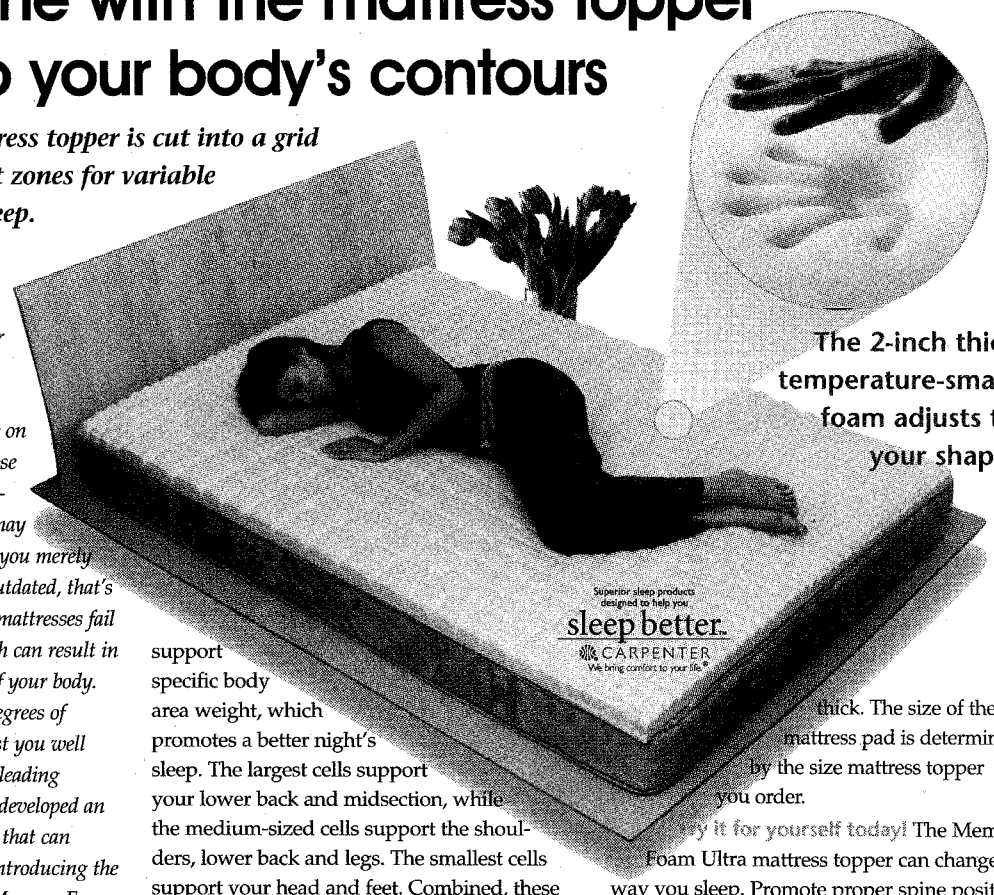
Get in the zone with the mattress topper that molds to your body's contours

The Memory Foam Ultra mattress topper is cut into a grid pattern combining six different zones for variable support and a better night's sleep.

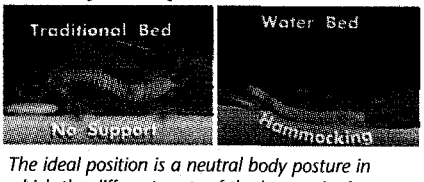


The 2-inch thick temperature-smart foam adjusts to your shape.

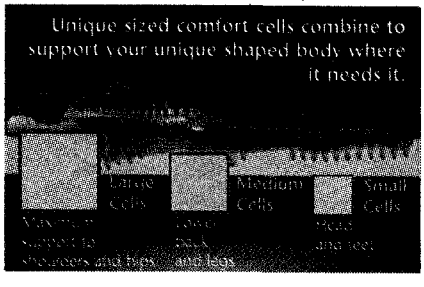
It's 3 a.m. You have exactly two hours until you have to get up for work, and you still can't seem to fall asleep. At this point, the phrase "tossing and turning" begins to take on a whole new meaning for people whose mattresses simply aren't giving proper support anymore. Your mattress may dictate your quality of sleep. Even if you merely suspect that your mattress may be outdated, that's when you need to take action. Some mattresses fail to support your spine properly, which can result in increased pressure on certain parts of your body. Other mattresses, sporting certain degrees of visco-elastic foam, can sometimes cost you well over $1000. Now, one of the world's leading manufacturers of foam products has developed an incredibly affordable mattress topper that can actually change the way you sleep. Introducing the future of a better night's sleep: The Memory Foam Ultra mattress topper.

Wake up to a better morning. The Memory Foam Ultra mattress topper is designed to give you a better sleep surface. Not only does it support each region of your body, but it's also temperature sensitive. With its various-sized "comfort cells," the 2-inch thick Memory Foam Ultra mattress topper combines six zones to support specific body area weight, which promotes a better night's sleep. The largest cells support your lower back and midsection, while the medium-sized cells support the shoulders, lower back and legs. The smallest cells support your head and feet. Combined, these zones provide variable support from head to toe. By using visco-elastic foam, the Memory Foam Ultra mattress topper also molds to your body contours to help prevent tossing and turning during the night. When you lie down on this amazing material, the heat and pressure sensitive foam reacts to your body's weight and temperature, so that it molds to your exact body shape. This means that whether you sleep on your back, stomach or side, your weight is evenly distributed and your spine remains in a neutral position. Other surfaces support your body at the shoulders, hips and legs only. This causes your spine to sag in other areas, which can often result in discomfort, and even back pain. You'll wake up rested, relaxed and ready to take on the day. Anyone who suffers from insomnia and back pain can benefit from this technology.

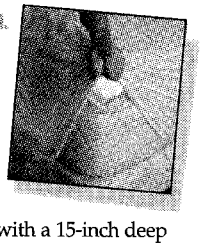
What could be wrong with your present bed?



The ideal position is a neutral body posture in which the different parts of the human body are supported individually and evenly. This is the secret behind Memory Foam Ultra, the mattress topper that turns any bed into the ideal sleep surface.


Unique sized comfort cells combine to support your unique shaped body where it needs it.
Large Cells
Medium Cells
Small Cells

FREE heavyweight mattress pad included. Included with the Memory Foam Ultra mattress topper is a fitted mattress pad. It's heavyweight and quilted, and made of 200-count 100% cotton with a 15-inch deep stretchable skirt to fit a mattress up to 21 inches thick. The size of the mattress pad is determined by the size mattress topper you order.



Try it for yourself today! The Memory Foam Ultra mattress topper can change the way you sleep. Promote proper spine positioning, while enjoying relief from insomnia and back pain with this full-body support. It comes with a 5-year manufacturer's limited warranty and TechnoScout's exclusive in-home trial. If you are not completely satisfied, simply return it within 30 days for the full purchase price, less shipping and handling.

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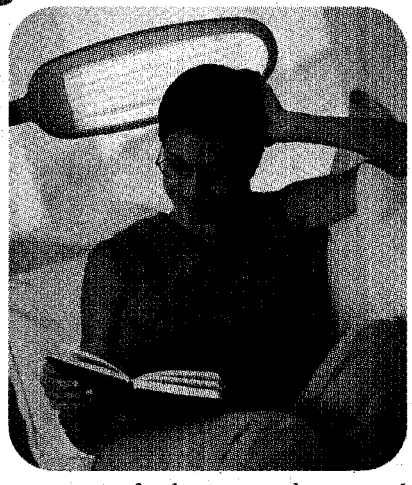

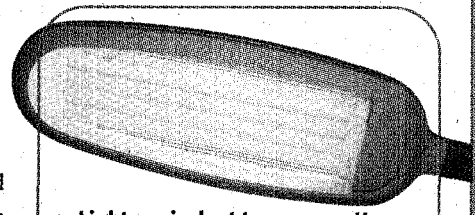

- **Light equivalent to a 250 watt bulb, but the energy used is similar to a 60 watt bulb.**
- **Bulb has 10,000 hour life.**

How often have you sat down to read and found yourself asleep in no time? Well, give your tired eyes a break with help from the sun. Now it is possible to bring the advantages of the outdoor light *indoors*. When you think about it, there hasn't been a significant innovation in lighting since Thomas Edison invented the first light bulb. By the 21st century, shouldn't there be better light? Now there is. A breakthrough technology using rare earth phosphors will change the way you read, work, do your hobbies and even the way you see yourself. The New UltraLux® Floor Lamp replicates the full light spectrum.

Why current light technology fails. An ordinary incandescent bulb's light is concentrated on the orange-red part of the spectrum creating a dim yellowish light. The light from Fluorescent bulbs is concentrated on the yellow green portion of the spectrum giving your room a sickly greenish color.

Pure white light. The UltraLux® innovative difference is Full Spectrum lighting using all of the visible colors in sunlight. Full Spectrum light is made up of pure white light with an amazing color rendering index of 91 producing more contrast and a sharper view.

Research has shown that full spectrum lighting can:

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- Reduce hyperactivity.
- Ease eyestrain.
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Laurence D. Martel, Ph.D., *President*
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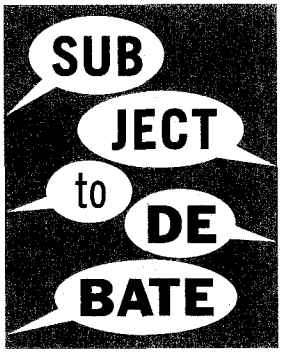
KATHA POLLITT

Adam and Steve—Together at Last



Will someone please explain to me how permitting gays and lesbians to marry threatens the institution of marriage? Now that the Massachusetts Supreme Court has declared gay marriage a constitutional right, opponents really have to get their arguments in line. The most popular theory, advanced by David Blankenhorn, Jean Bethke Elshtain and other social conservatives is that under the tulle and orange blossom, marriage is all about procreation. There's some truth to this as a practical matter—couples often live together and tie the knot only when baby's on the way. But whether or not marriage is the best framework for child-rearing, having children isn't a marital requirement. As many have pointed out, the law permits marriage to the infertile, the elderly, the impotent and those with no wish to procreate; it allows married couples to use birth control, to get sterilized, to be celibate. There's something creepily authoritarian and insulting about reducing marriage to procreation, as if intimacy mattered less than biological fitness. It's not a view that anyone outside a right-wing think tank, a Catholic marriage tribunal or an ultra-Orthodox rabbi's court is likely to find persuasive.

So scratch procreation. How about: Marriage is the way women domesticate men. This theory, a favorite of right-wing writer George Gilder, has some statistical support—married men are much less likely than singles to kill people, crash the car, take drugs, commit suicide—although it overlooks such husbandly failings as domestic violence, child abuse, infidelity and abandonment. If a man rapes his wife instead of his date, it probably won't show up on a police blotter, but has civilization moved forward? Of course, this view of marriage as a barbarian-adoption program doesn't explain why women should undertake it—as is obvious from the state of the world, they haven't been too successful at it, anyway. (Maybe men should civilize men—bring on the Fab Five!) Nor does it explain why marriage should be restricted to heterosexual couples. The gay men and lesbians who want to marry don't impinge on the male-improvement project one way or the other. Surely not even Gilder believes that a heterosexual pothead with plans for murder and suicide would be reformed by marrying a lesbian?

What about the argument from history? According to this, marriage has been around forever and has stood the test of time. Actually, though, marriage as we understand it—voluntary, monogamous, legally egalitarian, based on love, involving adults only—is a pretty recent phenomenon. For much of human history, polygyny was the rule—read your Old Testament—and in much of Africa and the Muslim world, it still is. Arranged marriages, forced marriages, child marriages, marriages predicated on the subjugation of women—gay marriage is like a fairy tale romance compared with most chapters of the history of wedlock.

The trouble with these and other arguments against gay marriage is that they overlook how loose, flexible, individualized and easily dissolved the bonds of marriage already are. Virtually any man and woman can marry, no matter how ill assorted or little acquainted. An 80-year-old can marry an 18-year-old; a john can marry a prostitute; two terminally ill patients can marry each other from their hospital beds. You can get married by proxy, like medieval royalty, and not see each other in the flesh for years. Whatever may have been the case in the past, what undergirds marriage in most people's minds today is not some sociobiological theory about reproduction or male socialization. Nor is it the enormous bundle of privileges society awards to married people. It's love, commitment, stability. Speaking just for myself, I don't like marriage. I prefer the old-fashioned ideal of monogamous free love, not that it worked out particularly well in my case. As a social mechanism, moreover, marriage seems to me a deeply unfair way of distributing social goods like health insurance and retirement checks, things everyone needs. Why should one's marital status determine how much you pay the doctor, or whether you eat cat food in old age, or whether a child gets a government check if a parent dies? It's outrageous that, for example, a working wife who pays Social Security all her life gets no more back from the system than if she had married a male worker earning the same amount and stayed home. Still, as long as marriage is here, how can it be right to deny it to those who want it? In fact, you would think that, given how many heterosexuals are happy to live in sin, social conservatives would welcome maritally minded gays with open arms. Gays already have the baby—they can adopt in many states, and lesbians can give birth in all of them—so why deprive them of the marital bathwater?

At bottom, the objections to gay marriage are based on religious prejudice: The marriage of man and woman is "sacred" and opening it to same-sexers violates its sacral nature. That is why so many people can live with civil unions but draw the line at marriage—spiritual union. In fact, polls show a striking correlation of religiosity, especially evangelical Protestantism, with opposition to gay marriage and with belief in homosexuality as a choice, the famous "gay lifestyle." For these people gay marriage is wrong because it lets gays and lesbians avoid turning themselves into the straights God wants them to be. As a matter of law, however, marriage is not about Adam and Eve versus Adam and Steve. It's not about what God blesses, it's about what the government permits. People may think "marriage" is a word wholly owned by religion, but actually it's wholly owned by the state. No matter how big your church wedding, you still have to get a marriage license from City Hall. And just as divorced people can marry even if the Catholic Church considers it bigamy, and Muslim and Mormon men can only marry one woman even if their holy books tell them they can wed all the girls in Apartment 3G, two men or two women should be able to marry, even if religions oppose it and it makes some heterosexuals, raised in those religions, uncomfortable.

Gay marriage—it's not about sex, it's about separation of church and state. ■

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ERIC ALTERMAN

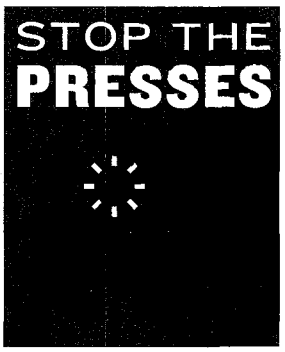
The Century of the 'Son of a Bitch'

Errol Morris: After you left the Johnson Administration, why didn't you speak out against the Vietnam War?

Robert McNamara: I'm not going to say any more than I have. These are the kinds of questions that get me in trouble.... A lot of people misunderstand the war, misunderstand me. A lot of people think I'm a son of a bitch.

Morris: Do you feel in any way responsible for the war? Do you feel guilty?

McNamara: I don't want to go any further with this discussion.



Errol Morris's new film, *The Fog of War*, a documentary about the career and character of Robert McNamara, fascinates on many levels. It is a study of a man in selective states of denial, a man who one minute calls himself a "war criminal"—though not for the usual reasons—and the next compares himself to a Quaker who burns himself to death protesting the very war that he was planning and directing. Morris, whose patented invention, the Interrotron, turns a merciless camera's eye on its topic by all but forcing his subject to look straight on at the camera at all times, told me he chose McNamara as a subject for this innovative documentary because "more than anyone else, he embodies the twentieth century." And what a horrible century it was.

McNamara places his first memory as Armistice Day, 1918, when he was just 2. It's hard to know whether to believe him, however, because he is both a pathological liar and a comically pathetic braggart. During the course of *The Fog of War*, we hear the 85-year-old man bragging about his grades in grammar school, his Phi Beta Kappa standing in college, his brilliant record in graduate school and his enormous salary as president of the Ford Motor Company. To his credit, McNamara does not blanch from the record when Morris confronts him with unearthed documents relating to his role in Curtis LeMay's firebombing campaign against Japan. He says: "If we'd lost the war, we'd all have been prosecuted as war criminals.... He and, I'd say, I were behaving as war criminals."

But much of McNamara's testimony to Morris consists of legalistic rationalizations and whitewashing of history—and while Morris asks the right questions, he too frequently lets McNamara elide and abuse the truth. For instance, McNamara gives every impression in this interview of having advised John Kennedy on how to save the world during the Cuban missile crisis. But in fact, he frequently changed his mind throughout the crisis, arguing against the (secret) missile trade that Kennedy eventually made to end the crisis peacefully. He even advocated a plan calling for 500 daily conventional bombing sorties of the Soviet missile sites and air bases for seven days, followed by an invasion of Cuba. He did so despite the fact that, as he admitted in the meetings of Kennedy's ExComm, "a missile is a missile. It makes no great difference whether you are killed by a missile fired from the Soviet Union or from Cuba." To McNamara, who consistently resisted Kennedy's arguments for compromise, this fateful step in which millions would likely die was necessary not because the missiles represented a "military problem" but rather because they were "a domestic political problem" owing to the President's recklessly tough talk about Cuba.

The Vietnam dissimulations are even more egregious and too numerous to delineate here, but Morris views these, too, almost uncritically. After the screening of the film, he explained, in response to my question about his treatment of the history, that although he had been a protester against the war and had not changed his position on it, he had changed his position on Robert McNamara. He argued that the popular view of a "vacillatory Johnson and advisers like McNamara breathing down his neck" for war was false. Well, Morris is a brilliant filmmaker, but he is not a historian. Having spent eleven years working on a doctoral dissertation and forthcoming book devoted to these matters—*When Presidents Lie: Deception and Its Consequences*—I'd say the old man has sold him the same bill of goods he was handing out at Georgetown dinner parties thirty-five years ago, when he would break down in tears over the agony his sensitive soul endured at the thought of all that useless death and destruction in Southeast Asia. (McNamara helpfully points out that the 2 million Vietnamese killed in the war would be equivalent to 27 million Americans, controlling for population differences.) But Johnson did vacillate, over and over, before committing himself and the nation to war. The great tragedy of his career is that he saw it all coming and did it anyway. Given the awe in which Johnson held Kennedy's brilliant Defense Secretary—perhaps the most admired man in America following the assassination—nobody could have proven more influential in stopping the war than the man who now says he identified with a guy who set himself on fire to try to stop it. Instead he continually argued for escalation despite admitting that at no time during the conflict did he have anything like a coherent plan for victory. His only explanation: "We were in the cold war and this was a cold war activity."

Substitute the word "terrorism" for "communism" and you have your contemporary historical tragedy made to order. The filmmaker Robert Greenwald has put together an infuriating string of interviews with former intelligence agents and national security professionals in which it becomes clear that the Bush Administration is the Johnson Administration without the self-doubt. (The film, *Uncovered: The Whole Truth About the Iraq War*, can be ordered from MoveOn.org.) Administration war planners purposely ignore the intelligence that does not fit their preconceived notions and deliberately mislead the nation—and possibly themselves—about their ability to bomb hostile populations into Jeffersonian democracy. Like McNamara and Johnson, they are destroying two countries at once: theirs and ours. Look for Paul Wolfowitz, twenty years from now, to tell us, tearfully, that he never really thought it was such a hot idea in the first place. ■

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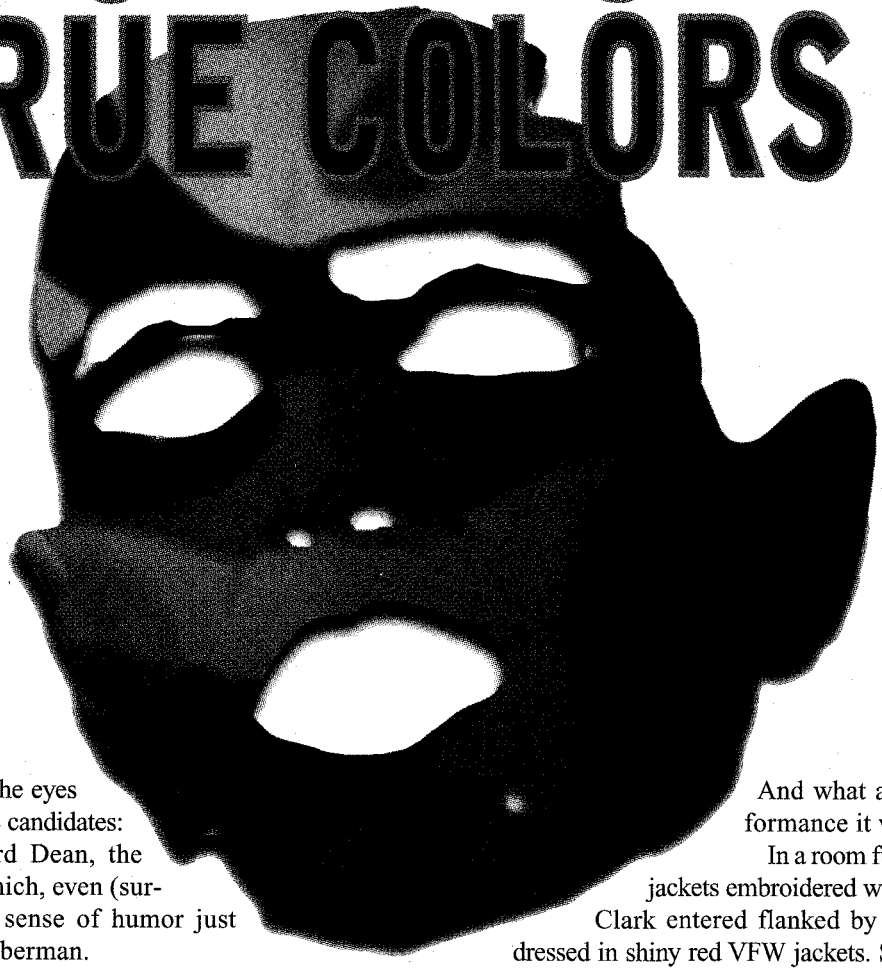
ARTICLES

CLARK'S TRUE COLORS



by MATT TAIBBI

You can see something in the eyes of most all the Democratic candidates: the pugnacity of Howard Dean, the idealism of Dennis Kucinich, even (surprisingly) the elaborate sense of humor just under the surface of Joe Lieberman.

Not Wesley Clark. His eyes are blank. Like a turtle resting on a rock in the middle of a pond, he simply seems never to move, no matter how long you stare. But then, just as you're about to pack up your picnic basket and go home, you catch him: His head pops out, and he slides off into the water…

Whitefield, New Hampshire, October 25. Five of the candidates—Edwards, Kerry, Dean, Kucinich and Clark—are addressing New Hampshire and national union leaders at the annual state AFL-CIO conference. The setting is a beautiful, *Shining*-esque luxury hotel called the Mountain View Grand Resort and Spa, perched on a hill at the northern edge of the White Mountain range. In bad weather it would take police hours to reach the crime scene. "All that's missing is the hedge maze," cracked Gail Kinney, representing the National Writers Union.

Each candidate had a half-hour to speak and answer labor-related panel questions. Edwards went first and did so-so. Dean went later and did better. Kucinich was the star, leaving to uproarious applause; he sounded like the second coming of Sam Gompers. Last in line came the unknown, Wesley Clark.

And what a very strange performance it was.

In a room full of people in satin jackets embroidered with union acronyms, Clark entered flanked by a pair of boosters dressed in shiny red VFW jackets. Seeming harried, he gave a short address that was laden with military metaphors: "I'm going to go on the warpath to stop that," "We have to attack on the employment front" and so on. As his speech went on, it became painfully clear that Clark had the idea of workers confused with soldiers. "As I stand here today, I tell you that in the Army, we knew that the unit was never any better than its parts," he said. "The generals weren't any better than the soldiers. When you're in uniform, you're part of a team…"

Heads turned in shock all throughout the audience. What the hell was he talking about? But Clark plowed on. He began to recount his biography, noting that the Army had allowed him to "be all he could be." Five minutes later, he said it again. "Every part of this society," he said, "has to get the support that they need to be all they can be."

After the conference, I chased after him in the parking lot. "General," I said. "You're not seriously going to make 'Be all you can be' your campaign slogan, are you?"

He smiled, then gave me a little nudge with his elbow, apparently thinking I was with him on this one. "Son," he said, "it *is* my campaign slogan."

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Afterward, Arnie Alpert of UNITE laughed about Clark's performance. "Next thing you know, it'll be the Campaign of One," he said.

I went the extra mile to cover Clark, even parting with a significant amount of my valuable time on this earth to volunteer, under an assumed name, for his campaign. Desperate measures were required, because solving the Clark puzzle is a desperate problem. It is not easy to explain how a man who voted for Reagan and Nixon, was a speechwriter for Al Haig, worked in the Ford White House alongside Dick Cheney and Donald Rumsfeld and was a passionate supporter of the Vietnam War could become a darling of the liberal antiwar crowd. Thirty-five years ago, hundreds of thousands of people took angrily to the streets, universities were taken over and a sitting President was hounded from the White House because of people like Wesley Clark.

Now Clark is presenting himself as a White Knight to the modern version of that same demographic, and he is being welcomed with open arms. He appeals to roughly the same class of people as Howard Dean, with a subtle difference. The Dean crowd self-consciously sees itself as a political force. When Dean tells supporters, "You have the power!" they holler like banshees, creating a Mike-Dukakis-teach-in-meets-Who-Let-the-Dogs-Out? kind of effect. But the chief crowd ritual in the Clark campaign is that of a group of hushed, groveling supplicants staring dewy-eyed at their savior Caesar. The vibe is all about ceding power, not empowerment.

The chief crowd ritual in the Clark campaign is that of a group of hushed supplicants staring dewy-eyed at their savior Caesar.

The imagery of the stalwart warrior reluctantly accepting the laurels offered by the Draft Clark movement is very consciously encouraged by the Clark campaign, and especially by Clark himself, who makes no secret of being a student of this kind of history. At a press conference in Concord in early November, Clark joked that "there hasn't been a successful draft movement since Cincinnatus."

Clark brings up Cincinnatus a lot. He was the good Roman dictator who, as a very old man, defeated the Aequi barbarians and saved the empire. Lots of obvious parallels there—if you happen to think Thomas Jefferson's United States is a place where the people ought to be longing for a benevolent dictator. That said, the Cincinnatus imagery seems to me to be a decoy. The throne Clark is really after is Caesar's. Once you've watched Clark sheepishly ascend to the podium after an introduction by a Draft Clark veteran, and shake his head and say, "They really made it impossible for me to say no"—once you've seen that act five or six times, you're not left with any doubt about where it comes from.

Snapshot from the Clark campaign. Nashua, New Hampshire, October 21. Clark had been scheduled that day to give a "major economic address," but that was scratched, so to speak, due to an illness that left him without his voice. To fill the time slot, the Clark staffers scheduled one of the classic seen-but-not-heard events so many of the candidates favor: the "downtown walk." The general was going to stroll up and down the main drag in Nashua, allowing the press to take dramatic pictures of him surveying the impulse-buy counters of local stores.

It was pouring rain when Clark arrived. After a brief handshaking scrum outside Nashua's city hall, he took off down the rainy street in search of photo ops. Three dozen journalists raced after him, in Keystone Kops fashion.

At this kind of campaign event I follow the old adage: Don't run down the hill and screw one of the cows, walk down and screw them all. When a candidate does a photo op in a store or restaurant, I go, have a leisurely lunch and then come back later and ask the proprietor to re-create the whole event as though it were a crime scene. At a diner in Claremont I even got a waitress to draw chalk outlines of Joe Lieberman's feet. In this relaxed atmosphere, your interview subject always recalls the story with more feeling.

At a Nashua bakery called Patisserie Bleu later that day, owner Jacqui Pressinger went through the motions of Clark's appearance, walking from the door to the counter. "He came in, stood right here, and ordered an 'Everything' bar," she said. "But then—he was whispering—he leaned over and told me and the girls that actually, his favorite dessert was a napoleon."

"You're kidding," I said.

"Yup," she said. "Then he started talking about West Point. He said something about eating a lot of napoleons at West Point."

"That's incredible," I said.

"Mmm-hm," she said. "I *love* pastry stories!"

At one of the Clark meet-ups in Boston, at a bar near Faneuil Hall, we volunteers were addressed by a man who was introduced as the highest-ranking Massachusetts politician to have endorsed the Clark campaign—a member of the state Democratic committee named Steve Driscoll. Here is how Driscoll opened his remarks:

"The thing is," he said, "being electable means having certain qualities. And unfortunately, many of those qualities are superficial qualities." He paused. "General Clark has depth, but he also has those surface qualities. He appeals to people who don't have time to think about the depth part."

Jesus, I thought. They're just coming right out and saying it.

For the two weeks or so that I had been a volunteer, I had tried, unsuccessfully, to get a rise out of my fellow Clark supporters. Just to see how they would react, I had introduced myself at the first meet-up as an adult-film director named Rondell Abrams. Massachusetts campaign staff member Dave Rubin, a skittish young Brandeis grad, gritted his teeth when I told him I'd just finished making *Asian Ass Vixens 6*.

"I also did the *East St. Louis Street Hookers* series," I said.

He nodded. "Well, uh, we're glad to have you."

For this second meet-up, I'd upped the ante, showing up with a friend: She and I were both wearing cervical collars and walking with the stiff posture of personal-injury plaintiffs. I explained to Rubin that I'd been kicked by a donkey, while "Anne" had been thrown off by one. "Wow, that's tough," he said. "But thanks for coming, in that condition."

Matt Taibbi is a columnist for the New York Press.

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Dave Yoken, Rubin's former classmate at Brandeis and another Draft Clark veteran, took it more in stride. "Hey, at least it wasn't an elephant," he cracked.

Yoken is quite a character. Brash, loud and energetic, he looks like he came from the same gene pool as Matt Damon, only with some nutrition supplements and a few motivational seminars thrown in. When I asked him how the campaign was going, he gave me a great answer.

"Well, I'll tell you," he said. "We've got the 23–28 white male vote sewn up. I mean, we have that absolutely whipped." He cast a hand around the room: a sea of fleshy males. "But we've got to branch out."

I suggested, sarcastically, that he play up the general's sex appeal. Yoken jumped on the theme, telling me a story about meeting Clark in Knoxville early in the Draft Clark period. "He showed me a picture of himself in a T-shirt," he said. "He's really a ripped guy; his arms were showing. He called that his 'drool shirt.' So I think there's something there."

He laughed and almost slapped my back for emphasis, but remembered my neck injury and held up just in time.

Shortly afterward, Rubin came over again. Thirty-five minutes later, he'd thought of something to say. "Hey, at least it wasn't an elephant," he cracked.

The meeting wore on. It was an amazing experience. Here, ostensibly, were two porn-industry professionals, dressed in identically preposterous cervical collars, attending an organizational meeting for a straitlaced four-star general—and no one so much as blinked.

Clark supporters share a desire to dispense with the moral nitpicking of the post-1960s era and get behind the man for the Big Win.

This is not so surprising, however, because paying close attention is not really what the Clark campaign is about. In fact, it's very much about the opposite: squinting your eyes, blurring out the margins and focusing on the one main goal on the horizon—beating George Bush. In my time around the campaign I got the sense that this "blurring out" is central to the thinking of the Clark supporter—a desire to dispense with the moral nitpicking of the post-1960s era and get behind the man for the Big Win.

A wide spectrum of people has endorsed this idea, with everyone from Southern moderates like former South Carolina Governor Jim Hodges to Michael Moore talking Clark up as a rational human being and responsible world citizen who may have a few warts, but who would be a vast improvement over Bush. The Wesley Clark advertised in these circles is intelligent, educated, respectful of human life and civil liberties, and occasionally a powerful critic of Bush Administration politics. He is the man who sounded like something out of a Frank Capra movie when he told Tim Russert on *Meet the Press*, "I realized that what we had was an Administration which was determined to take us to war in Iraq, almost no matter what. That's misleading, it's wrong, it shouldn't be permitted, and that Administration has to be held accountable."

Clark's star has dimmed a little lately, of course; he has bowed out of the Iowa race, and the fact that he considered pulling out of an upcoming New Hampshire debate suggests he may be placing most of his chips on the South. But for some, the Big Win strategy still makes sense: Forget about the details, focus on the big picture—a prochoice, pro–gun control, anti–Patriot Act Democrat running against the werewolf currently occupying the White House.

The Clark people were nice and well-meaning enough, I suppose. But it was hard not to notice that the fastest way to bum them out was to ask a question about the candidate's platform. At one point, when Yoken was talking to the "media committee" (I had joined a group whose job involved writing letters to the editor of various newspapers) about Clark's "New American Patriotism," I interrupted him.

"What does that mean, exactly, 'New American Patriotism'?" I said. "Is that as opposed to the old foreign patriotism?"

"No," Yoken said. "The New American Patriotism sees patriotism as something where dissent and civil liberties are encouraged."

"I thought that was the old patriotism," I said.

The committee fell silent for a moment. "Well, whatever," Yoken said.

The problem with the Big Win strategy is that Wesley Clark is a candidate with whom it is absolutely necessary to pay close attention. No candidate on the campaign trail is better at saying two opposing things at once, and no candidate's true intentions are harder to discern.

I saw numerous examples of this phenomenon. Up at the labor conference in Whitefield, for instance, the candidates were asked about their position on a labor dispute involving workers and management at the New Hampshire TV station WMUR. WMUR videographer Ryan Murphy asked the candidate if they would support a boycott of a WMUR televised debate if management failed to give workers a contract.

All the candidates except Clark said yes unequivocally. Clark's initial response to Murphy was classic:

"Let me ask you something," he said. "Have ya sat down with management?"

Murphy repeated what he'd said in his question: They'd been in negotiations for nine months. Clark squirmed out of that one, saying he'd "look into the matter."

Now here's when it got interesting. After the conference, a WMUR reporter went up to Clark and asked him if he would boycott the debates if the other candidates did.

"Oh, you betcha," he said. "I'm with you a hundred percent on that one."

I nearly dropped my notebook. "Wait a minute," I said to the reporter. "Are you asking him if he'd debate himself if everyone else boycotted?"

The reporter shrugged.

I turned to Clark. "General, what if the other candidates don't boycott? What will you do then?"

"We're going to take a look at this," he said, then rushed past us.

Other reporters following Clark have begun to notice this habit lately. Even among this credulous crowd, the double-talk act is beginning to wear thin. At a Clark press conference in Concord a few weeks ago, AP writer Ron Fournier literally threw up his hands when Clark, under repeated questioning, gave a

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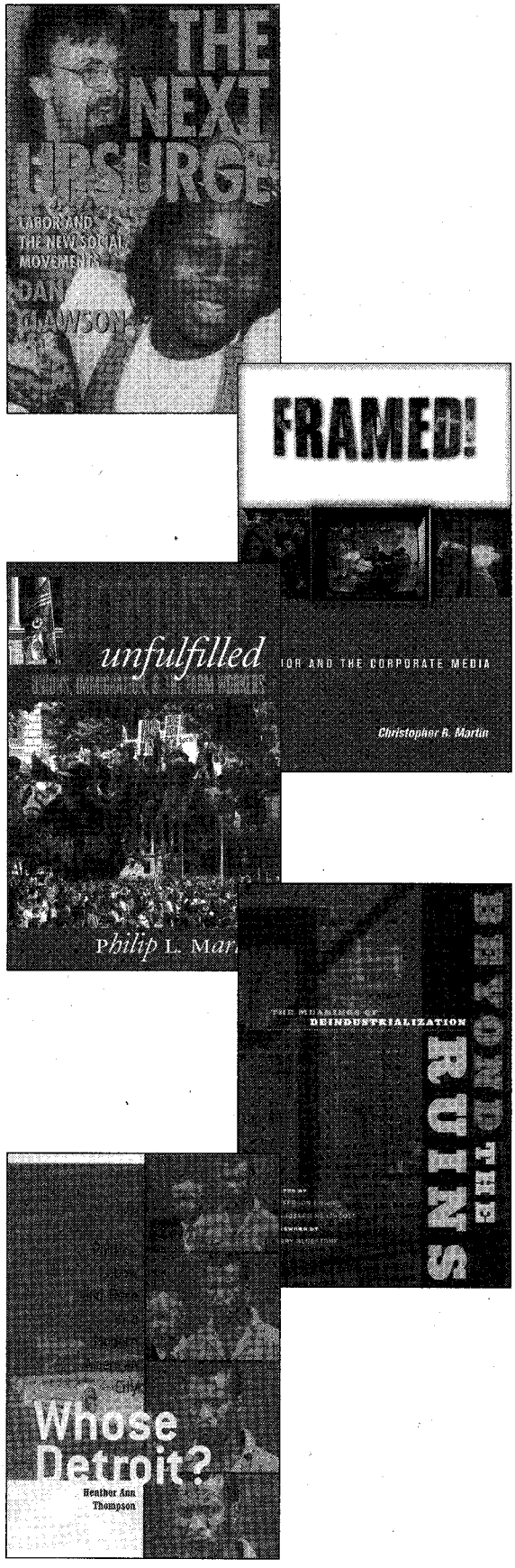

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two-faced answer to a question about why he had called the Bush Administration a "great team." "Well," Clark said, "like most Americans, I wanted them to succeed."

(Did they, by the way? I didn't.)

"Yeah, but why call them a 'great team' if you disagreed with them on Iraq?" Fournier asked.

"Because they were making the wrong decisions then," Clark answered nonsensically.

A murmur shot through the crowd. "What the hell does that mean?" I heard someone say behind me.

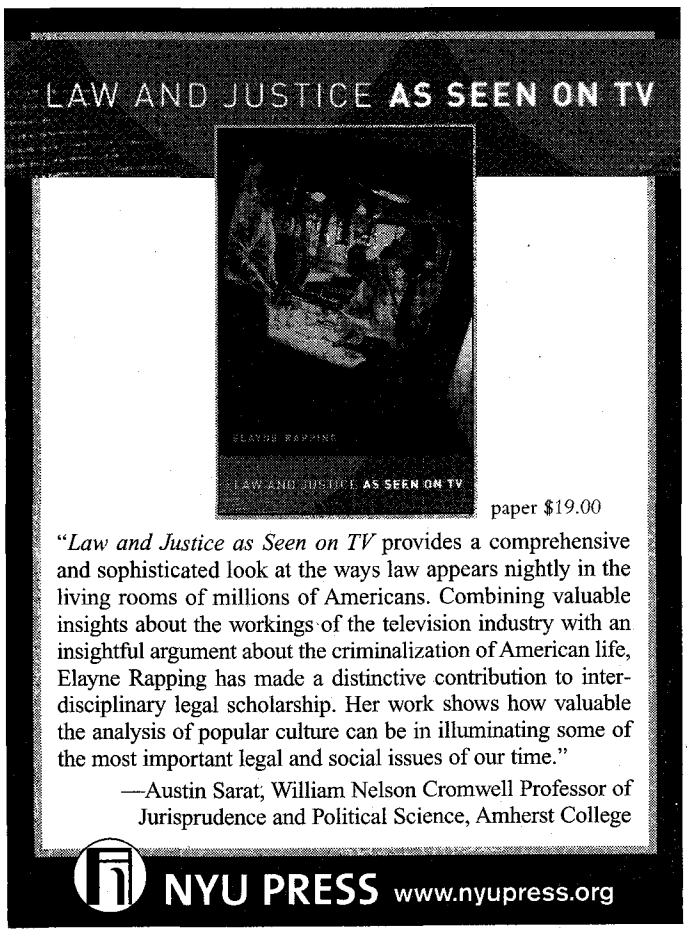
Clark elicited a similar response at the same press conference when he made one of the more cryptic—and in retrospect, one of the more meaningful—statements of his campaign. "The legacy of Vietnam," he said, "will be put to rest by the legacy of Iraq."

A few reporters asked Clark to explain himself, but the general basically just repeated the statement before leaving the podium. As it turned out, only one journalist wrote it up in the post-mortems. Afterward, I went up to Clark spokesman Bill Buck and found out what he meant.

"What he means," Buck said, "is that the legacy of Vietnam was that it was a war that we went into without a clear strategy for a successful conclusion."

"Really?" I said. "Because I thought the legacy of Vietnam was that we senselessly murdered 2 million people in an illegal, criminal colonial invasion."

Buck rolled his eyes. "Oh, come on," he said. Then he elaborated. In Vietnam, Buck said, we had no strategy for going in and winning. In Iraq, we have the opportunity to "be successful."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"And success means winning, not withdrawing?" I said.

"Success means winning," he said. "He's made no secret about that."

I asked Buck if this was not exactly the same position that Richard Nixon ran on, vis-à-vis Vietnam, in 1968—peace with honor. A far from unreasonable question, given that Clark, back in those very days, during his studies at Oxford, had given speeches abroad in support of the Vietnam war effort. Also not unreasonable because Clark voted for Nixon. But Buck shook his head.

"Give me a break," he said.

A nondenial denial. I laughed. A neo-Ziegler for a neo-Nixon.

The legacy of Vietnam will be put to rest. Maybe Roman history isn't the only kind of history on the mind of General Clark. Certainly, in his statements about Iraq, he echoes the sentiments of the old Vietnam War boosters. "[The Iraq war] has been a huge strategic mistake for this country," he says. "But now that we're in, we have no choice but to succeed." Between all the anti-Bush bluster, and the talk of the Iraq war being a "national tragedy," the position of the antiwar candidate really boils down to that: Let's finish the job like we didn't last time. Underneath it all, he seems to be a man yearning to scratch a very old itch.

It had always troubled me that people opposed to the war could have seen something in Wesley Clark. Because it seemed to me that no person who found the Iraq war morally repugnant could have gone on television and talked sunnily about how this or that weapon was ravaging Iraqi defenses. I remember watching Clark on CNN, and at one point he was actually playing with a model of an A-10 tank-killer airplane, whooshing it back and forth over a map of Iraq, like a child playing with a new toy on Christmas morning. A person who was genuinely opposed to the war as wrongful killing would be sick even thinking about such a thing.

Clark's new book, *Winning Modern Wars*, is 200 pages long, all about the Iraq war. Yet there is only one instance in the entire book in which he gives a physical description of the death of a human being, that being a mention of some Marines in Nasiriyah who were found with bullet holes in their heads. Everywhere else, human beings are described as "targets" or "objectives" or even "high-value targets," and their deaths are rendered with sports/football metaphors ("going 'downtown' with air power," "Red Zone" attacks, "the Big Win," etc.) and bloodless euphemisms for words like "kill" or "assassination" ("destroy," "decapitating strike"). Moreover, he never mentions civilian casualties without qualifying his statements—the "alleged mistakes of the bombing campaign," the "hapless women and children reported to be victims of the bombing."

If this kind of talk sounds familiar, that's because it is. Clark doesn't hide it. "I'm a product of that military-industrial complex General Eisenhower warned you about," he said with a smile a few weeks ago, during a speech at the UNH campus in Manchester. The general assumed—correctly—that the term no longer inspired revulsion in young audiences.

He says it's something else, but maybe this is what Clark means by the New American Patriotism. New faces, no memories. Fresh recruits to replace the defeatists. A new base for Big Win thinking. ■

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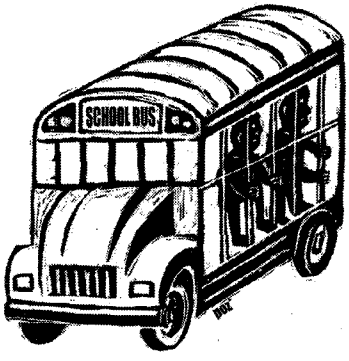
ZERO TOLERANCE POLICIES HAVE CREATED A 'LOCKDOWN ENVIRONMENT' IN SCHOOLS.

Discipline and Punish

ANNETTE FUENTES

Bryson Donaldson, 12, was horsing around at his Muskogee, Oklahoma, school one morning last fall, mimicking the cops-and-robbers scenario that is as American as apple pie and Al Pacino. Bryson pointed his finger like a gun at a classmate and in a flash was hit with a five-day suspension. The principal singled out Bryson, the only African-American in his grade, for punishment, patting him down and scanning his sixth-grader's frame with a metal detector. He was placed in an alternative program for "bad" students, serving two days of his sentence until his mother brought in the NAACP. Bryson had been a straight-A student, but that changed. "He has nightmares now," Diane Donaldson said last June. "I had to take him to a psychiatrist. It is to the point where we have to struggle to go to school every day."



PETER O. ZIERLEIN

Daniel Brion, 14, was an eighth grader with a bright mind, a diagnosis of ADHD (attention deficit hyperactivity disorder) and a typical adolescent's jubilation as summer approached this past May. Walking down the hall of his Lexington, Kentucky, school, Daniel remarked that he wished the school would burn down and take the principal with it. His words were overheard and translated to said principal thusly: Daniel had gasoline and was recruiting a gang to burn down the school. Without notifying Daniel or his parents, the principal brought in the police to investigate Daniel's comments. Two weeks later, Daniel was yanked out of math class and interrogated by an officer who read him his Miranda rights. "The whole thing is like Franz Kafka's *The Trial*," said Dr. Gail Brion, his mother. "They were ready to arrest him on charges of terrorist threats."

Every year, more than 3 million students like Bryson Donaldson are suspended and nearly 100,000 more are expelled, from kindergarten through twelfth grade. Of those, untold thousands like Daniel Brion increasingly face police action for disciplinary problems that were previously handled in school, because forty-one states now require that certain acts committed in school be reported to the police. Boys in general are the targets, with African-American males bearing a disproportionate brunt of suspensions and disciplinary actions. Together, these trends are the poisonous byproduct of a decade of so-called zero tolerance policies in public schools, from urban enclaves to rural outposts alike.

Youth advocates and education experts are increasingly alarmed about the toll of zero tolerance policies. While school administrators may believe suspensions and get-tough policies make schools safe and improve student behavior, the research shows otherwise. Excluding kids from school for two days or two months increases the odds of academic failure and dropping out. What's more, suspensions and academic failure are strong predictors of entry into the criminal justice system, especially for African-American males. That's why legal and education experts are blaming zero tolerance for what they call the "school to prison pipeline." If yesteryear's prank got a slap on the wrist, today those wrists could be slapped with handcuffs. "We are breeding a generation of children who think they are criminals for the way they are being treated in school," said Judith Browne, senior attorney at the Advancement Project, in Washington, DC. "School used to be a refuge. Now it's a lockdown environment. We are bringing the practices of criminal justice into the schools."

The Zero Tolerance Juggernaut

Zero tolerance was born during the Reagan Administration's war on drugs, back in the mid-1980s. But it was Bill Clinton who gave it new currency in the schools when he signed the Gun Free Schools Act of 1994, mandating expulsion of students who bring weapons to school. It was a time of public hysteria about youth crime, hyped by pop criminologists like James Q. Wilson, who predicted a violent juvenile crime wave, and John DiIulio, who coined the term "superpredator" to describe a new, vicious young criminal—the face of whom was implicitly a black or Latino urban male. Racial coding and stereotypes infused such theories and fed the public's rampant fear of young minority males. The real dimensions of juvenile crime were far milder: a spike in violent crime that began in the late 1980s, crested in the early 1990s and has been falling ever since. At the time of the infamous 1999 Columbine High School shootings, incidents of school violence, including homicides, were at their lowest point in a decade. But by then, fear of African-American and Latino "ghetto gangstas" had expanded to include youth of all demographics, whether they lived in affluent white suburbs or poor black cities. Columbine only accelerated the zero tolerance juggernaut already in motion.

In the four years since then, states and localities have enacted policies in public schools that make the federal mandates look tepid. Broadened definitions of weapons and threatening behavior can turn a spitball into a deadly missile and a playground pushing match into an assault. What's more, zero tolerance is getting a boost from President Bush's No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 and its focus on standardized-testing-as-educational-reform. "The wave of school shootings fed [the public's] concerns and states went wild with zero tolerance, giving principals total discretion to kick out any student they wanted," said Mark Soler, president

Annette Fuentes is a New York journalist. She received a fellowship in child and family policy from the University of Maryland, which supported research for this article with funding from the Foundation for Child Development.

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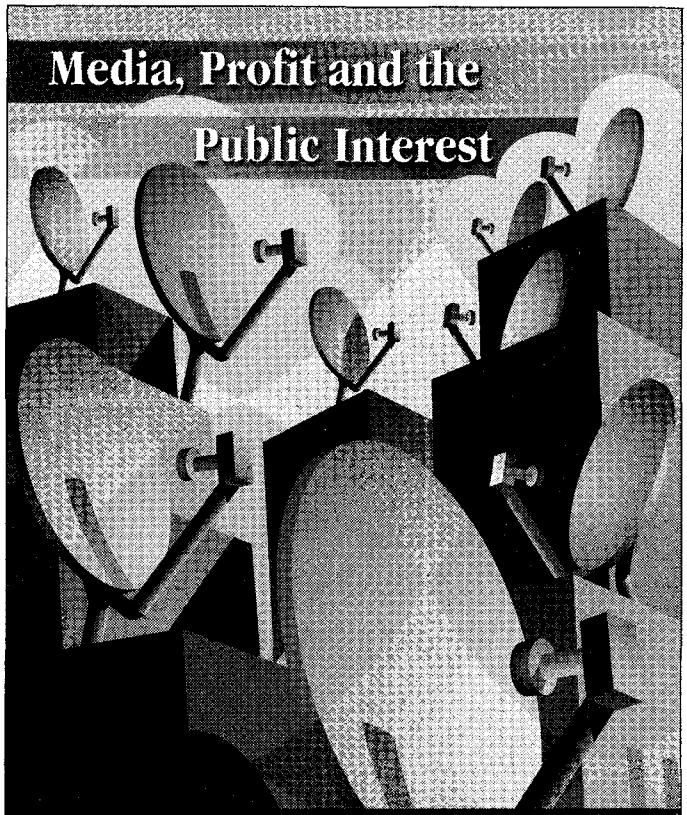

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of the Youth Law Center. "Now zero tolerance is fed less by fear of crime and more by high-stakes testing. Principals want to get rid of kids they perceive as trouble."

Daniel Brion's school is typical in Kentucky, where zero tolerance took hold after a few incidents of school violence in the late 1990s, like the 1997 fatal shooting at a West Paducah high school prayer group. Yet school crime is very low in Kentucky, says Soler. For each of the past three years, for example, fewer than forty firearms offenses were reported for a student population of 625,000. But suspensions have multiplied: 65,508 in the 1999–2000 school year, and 68,523 the following year. Many of these were for "defiance of authority," a vaguely defined violation of school rules that was reported more than 25,000 times in the 2000–01 school year. "Defiance of authority is talking in class, talking back to teachers; it's irritating behavior. You can't have kids disturbing class, but schools have abdicated responsibility for finding a middle ground," said Soler. "The Kentucky data is clear. If you stop suspensions for minor behaviors, it would reduce the total number dramatically."

What's Race Got to Do With It?

Zero tolerance cheerleaders cite high rates of suspension and expulsion as the reason school violence is low. But no research supports that claim or the theory that zero tolerance improves academic outcomes. If anything, zero tolerance breeds failure among the most vulnerable students and puts kids on a path to prison, according to Russell Skiba, associate professor of education and director of the Safe and Responsive Schools Project at Indiana University. "Students suspended in elementary school are more likely to act out in middle school, and there is some correlation with dropouts. If one of the potent predictors of achievement is time spent learning, then expulsion's effect on achievement is not surprising," said Skiba. "Even if we say these are bad kids, zero tolerance doesn't do anything to help them. It's placing a higher proportion of students at risk for jail."

Skiba looked at zero tolerance policies in thirty-seven states using data from 2000 to gauge their relationship to achievement, behavior and youth incarceration. Schools with high out-of-school suspension rates had lower achievement in eighth-grade math, writing and reading. And states with higher school suspension rates were also more likely to have higher juvenile incarceration rates. Perhaps most sobering was the racial disparity: In almost every state, suspension, expulsion and incarceration rates were higher for African-Americans than for the general student population. In Minnesota 6 percent of all students were suspended in the 2000–01 school year, while 34 percent of African-American students were. African-American youth were more likely to be suspended and incarcerated than white children across the country, with many states guilty of staggering disproportion.

Southern states tend to have the highest absolute rates of suspension and juvenile incarceration, Skiba found, but the racial disparity is highest in the Midwest. In Minnesota, for example, African-American youth are nine times as likely to be suspended from school as white children and nine times as likely to be in jail. Skiba attributes the regional differences to the demographics and teacher quality of Midwestern urban areas, where African-Americans are concentrated. But the overall pattern of racial dif-

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ferences in school exclusion is another matter. "I'm beginning to think of this as an unplanned conspiracy," Skiba said. "When there is racial disparity, it reflects institutional behaviors perpetuated over time." National statistics on suspensions from the US Education Department for 2000 indicate the depth of the disparity: African-American students are 17 percent of the entire public school population but account for 34 percent of all out-of-school suspensions and 30 percent of expulsions. White students, by contrast, are 62 percent of the student population but account for 48 percent of out-of-school suspensions and 49 percent of expulsions.

African-American males face a double jeopardy with zero tolerance policies because they are often overrepresented in special education classes, where the federal Individuals With Disabilities Education Act doesn't always protect them from punitive discipline, according to Linda Raffaele Mendez, an associate professor in the department of school psychology at the University of South Florida. She looked at a thirteen-year study of schoolkids in Pinellas County, Florida, and found deep racial disparities in how suspensions were meted out. During their sixth-grade year, more than 66 percent of poor, black males with disabilities were suspended once, and many were suspended multiple times. "Special ed classes aren't much smaller, and teachers are often on emergency certification. They aren't prepared to work with these kids," Mendez said. "The zeitgeist now is zero tolerance, and that says you get the kid out when there is an infraction." Like Skiba, Mendez found a connection between suspensions and dropouts for all students. In the Pinellas cohort, a third of students disappeared between ninth and twelfth grades. "Kids are on a path. If they are suspended frequently at the end of elementary school, it's likely that will continue in middle school. And when they get to high school, it's very likely they will drop out," Mendez said.

Criminal Intents

The school-to-prison pipeline often starts because teachers and principals are calling 911 and criminalizing student behaviors that in more tolerant times they would have handled themselves. "We're seeing very minor conduct becoming a criminal act. Things a police officer might not arrest someone for in a bar fight, we're seeing schools calling in police to make arrests for," said the Advancement Project's Browne.

Browne studied zero tolerance policies in Miami-Dade, Palm Beach, Houston and Baltimore schools, and found many arrests for disorderly conduct. "It could be a student who refuses to sit down in class, or the spitball," she said. "In addition to getting the three-to-five-day suspension, these kids are getting arrested." Browne said there are no statistics on the arrest trend nationally, and many districts don't keep data. But in Miami-Dade, Florida's largest district, arrests at school nearly tripled between 1999 and 2001, from 820 to 2,435 arrests. Of those, 28 percent were for "miscellaneous" offenses, and 29 percent were for simple assaults.

Texas schools have also elevated the trivial transgression to criminal levels. Students can be suspended and placed in an alternative program for cheating, violating dress codes, horseplay, excessive noise and failure to bring homework to class. When students are removed from school, it must be reported to the county juvenile justice board. That surprised Augustina Reyes, associate professor of education at the University of Houston and

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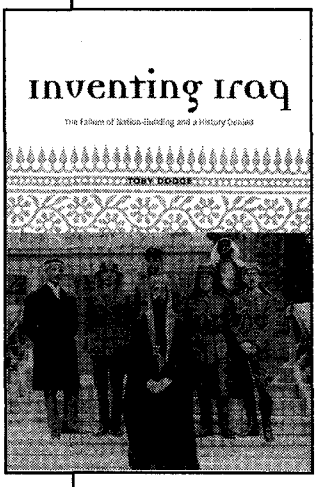

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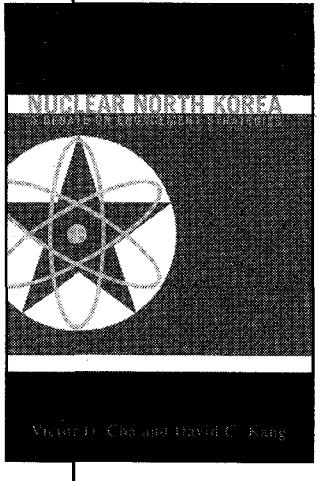

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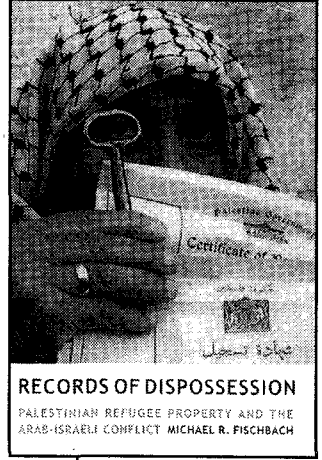

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a former Houston school board member. "I knew there were a few alternative programs for difficult students, but I'd never seen the school disciplinary system become part of the juvenile justice system," said Reyes. "It concerned me that a 14-year-old could be removed from school and all of a sudden, he has a criminal record."

Reyes looked at statewide data on disciplinary actions for 2000–01 and found that almost half a million children from kindergarten through twelfth grade had been suspended from their classes, with a total of 1.1 million suspensions. What shocked her most, though, was the nature of school discipline: Of the total 1.7 million disciplinary actions that year, 95 percent were for discretionary reasons. "I thought I was going blind with the numbers," Reyes said. "When you see that only 5 percent of all kids are reported for mandatory reasons—cigarette smoking is a mandatory reason—I couldn't believe it."

Testing, Testing—and Intolerance

Zero tolerance critics believe the current emphasis on standardized testing is one reason harsh policies continue even as school crime plummets. Central to No Child Left Behind are state and local mandates for annual testing of students in reading and math, and sanctions for those schools that fail to increase achievement. Reyes says the fixation on testing and a growing population of lower-income, mostly Latino, children in Texas public schools are incentives for suspension and exclusion. "I've seen how life on campus revolves around testing. If teachers are told, 'Your scores go down, you lose your job,' all of a sudden your values shift very quickly," she said. "Teachers think, 'With bad kids in my class, I'll have lower achievements on my tests, so I'll use discretion and remove that kid.'"

Judith Browne would like to see longitudinal studies on the relationship between high-stakes testing and the school-to-prison pipeline. "It makes sense that kids who don't pass these tests are being punished by being retained in a grade and are more likely to drop out and more likely to enter the criminal justice system," she said. Politically, zero tolerance reflects a steady and purposeful divestment in the public education system, and No Child Left Behind continues that political agenda with its underfunded and punitive mandates, according to Browne. "If we're right about what No Child Left Behind means, it is really a call for vouchers," she said. "It means, 'Let's set our schools up to fail so we can go to vouchers,' and there is language that allows transfers for schools that fail or are persistently violent, and each state can define what that means."

For Mark Soler, the fallout from zero tolerance policies extends far beyond the schoolhouse walls. "The great tragedy is, we're looking at losing an entire generation of children, particularly African-American," Soler said. "If we're going to kick kids out of school and put them on the pathway to prison, we'll end up with a whole generation of African-American men who cannot support themselves by lawful means and are less likely to be present husbands and fathers. The consequences for our communities are horrible." ■

LETTERS CONTINUED

(Continued From Page 2)

unable to do so, because what I did was absolutely proper and routine. And he knows it. His claim that he can say "unequivocally" that any student who did what I did would be disciplined for plagiarism is a deliberate lie made out of whole cloth to serve his ideological agenda. Like Cockburn, he doesn't like the substance of my book and so has joined forces with those seeking to deligitimize it with false charges. This is a form of literary McCarthyism of which he should be ashamed, even if Cockburn is shameless. ALAN DERSHOWITZ

COCKBURN REPLIES

New York City

■ First let me give the floor to Sayres Rudy: "Alan Dershowitz thinks I'm too inexperienced to assess his plagiarism because I'm not a professor but a vagabond. When I finish my dissertation this year, I will have three advanced degrees: Johns Hopkins, SAIS (MA 1990), Columbia (MA 1996; PhD 2004). How many does Dershowitz have? What he calls vagabondage I call teaching. Since 1993 I've taught political science at Columbia, Amherst and Mount Holyoke, and political philosophy at Harvard (six years). I served on and chaired Davidson College's Honor Council (1983–86), whose hearings are confidential and outcomes sealed. At Davidson as elsewhere, Dershowitz's technique—citing unchecked sources in any given footnote as his own research findings when they're in fact taken from uncited sources—is an honor code violation: either plagiarism or, worse, stealing. Dershowitz also implies that I'm politically motivated. I do deplore inhumane and intellectually absurd apologias for political domination. But whether in defense of Saudi, Palestinian Authority or—as in this case—Zionist criminality, Dershowitz's tactics constitute plagiarism. If not, why would he use me as a red herring rather than answer Alexander Cockburn's (and Norman Finkelstein's) charges directly?"

On the plagiarism charges Dershowitz is dead in the water. We now have the "smoking gun" proof that he copied Peters's sources without checking them. A correspondent has sent Finkelstein the ADVANCE UNCORRECTED PROOFS of D's book. Many of the footnotes are not yet filled in, and instructions are left for D's research assistants on how to complete the text. Here's footnote 19 on p. 13: "Holly Beth: cite sources on pp. 160, 485, 486, fns 141-145." Notice the wording: D doesn't say "check" sources on pp.__; he says "cite" sources on pp.__. All the page references are to Peters's book citations, which correspond to those in D's book. Holly Beth is one of his research assistants, acknowledged in the final version of the text. Dershowitz knows the smoking gun has surfaced, hence the hastily inserted bluster on the matter in this latest letter.

McCarthy? In his ghastly book D claims that the International Solidarity Movement are supporters of terrorism; that Rachel Corrie "threw herself" *in front of the oncoming* Israeli bulldozer; that female Palestinian suicide bombers were raped by "terrorist operatives"; that an "independent investigation" proved that a Palestinian killed during torture by Israel died from unrelated causes; that Israel doesn't currently torture Palestinian detainees; that the Marines in Beirut 1983 were killed by "Palestinian terrorists"; that no Palestinian was deliberately killed during Operation Defensive Shield; and on and on. As Finkelstein remarks, It's simply not possible to address the "substance" of D's "book," because the book lacks substance. It's a flat-out fraud, from the author's name forward. Finkelstein promises to demonstrate this in a forthcoming book, from the New Press, titled *Letters to an Old Shyster: How Professor Alan Dershowitz Concocted a Ludicrous Hoax and Why Harvard University Should Expel Him for It.* Dershowitz should be kicked out of his Felix Frankfurter chair for being a plagiarist, and then he should sue himself for incompetency of counsel. ALEXANDER COCKBURN

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COMMENT

(Continued From Page 6)

a fortress for his protection. Thousands of police officers in Day-Glo jackets filled the city center while snipers kept watch from rooftops under a sky empty of planes. Roads and squares were sealed off; some MPs were shut out of the House of Commons, where crucial votes on National Health Service (NHS) reform were taking place. Newspapers here reported that the White House had demanded diplomatic immunity for American special agents in case they shot protesters, the installation of bulletproof windows in Buckingham Palace, the right to patrol London's airspace with US fighter jets and helicopter gunships, and a guarantee from Scotland Yard that protesters would be kept out of camera range of the President. There was no walkabout à la Bill Clinton, no ride with the Queen in the traditional open carriage. Instead, Bush was driven from the back of the palace to the front in his own armored Cadillac for the official welcoming ceremony—a made-for-TV election commercial that no one could get close enough to watch. This was the new empire condescending to the old while borrowing the last of its glitter-and-paste glamour.

Far from an affirmation of friendship, the visit felt to Londoners—even to many who did not oppose the war—like an assertion of absolute, arrogant power. It was as if, after months of putting the case for sticking with America to a skeptical population, Blair had decided to end the conversation with incontrovertible evidence of our subservience. Bush's performance did nothing to reassure those who think he has no understanding of the world beyond Washington. Like a house guest who brings his own coffee in case yours is the wrong brand, he spent the visit locked in his own portable world and his own weary rhetoric. His big speech before an invited audience of foreign policy specialists set out his "three pillars of peace and security" in terms tailored to appeal to a European audience, with talk of democracy and international institutions and the need for some concessions by Israel. But the real message was that America will stop at nothing to impose its will on the world: "We have...a power that cannot be resisted—and that is the appeal of freedom to all mankind." Meanwhile, less than a mile away, Pentagon hawk Richard Perle was deviating from the official London–Washington line by acknowledging that the invasion of Iraq was indeed illegal: "I think in this case international law stood in the way of doing the right thing."

For Blair, the Bush visit had the makings of a political nightmare. No previous British leader has gone so deeply against the grain of his own party's views and risked so much for the "special relationship"; no previous US President has been so open, for all the rhetoric of friendship and solidarity, about America's determination to follow its own interests at any cost. It turned out to be a bad week for the Prime Minister, whose party came closer to defeat in a House of Commons vote on NHS reform than it ever has before. His "friend" did not even think it necessary to throw him a scrap on two pressing issues of domestic British concern: US steel tariffs, which have been declared illegal by the World Trade Organization, and the fate of the British citizens who've been detained without trial for two years at Guantánamo Bay. Blair's closeness to Bush will only become more of a liability as the US election approaches. The best hope of healing the rift between Europe and the United States lies in a Democratic victory in 2004; Blair has just handed Bush a prize set of snapshots for his election campaign. As Colin Powell told a BBC interviewer, "We really wanted this visit."

Meanwhile, well over 100,000 people came out to protest against Bush on a weekday afternoon (the organizers' figure is 300,000)—a demonstration second in size only to the February one that drew more than a million. As the movement has grown, the Stop the War marches have come to feel like reunions: the same crisp placards in black, white and red, the same feeling of urgency and frustration, the same sense of a surprising variety

In Fact . . .

KILLER COKE?

■ Gregg Wirth writes: The Real Thing is getting a real headache from a coalition of human rights activists, labor unions and college students. The Campaign to Stop Killer Coke (www.killercoke.org), organized by Corporate Campaign, Inc., on behalf of SINALTRAINAL, Colombia's national food and beverage union, is taking the fight to the company with protests, petitions and boycotts. The campaign holds Coca-Cola responsible for the murders of union leaders at its Colombia bottling plants. When students at Ireland's largest university, University College Dublin, voted in October to ban the on-campus sale of Coke products in solidarity with SINALTRAINAL, Coke sent executives to Ireland to force a second vote in the hope of overturning the ban. The result? The ban was upheld by an even wider margin. "This seems to have come out of nowhere," a spokeswoman for Coke's Irish operations told a London newspaper.

TAKING CARE OF PLAN B

■ Patti Miller writes: On December 16, two Food and Drug Administration panels will make a decision that could revolutionize unwanted pregnancy prevention. The Reproductive Health Drugs and Nonprescription Drugs advisory committees will consider Barr Laboratories' request to make its Plan B emergency contraception available over the counter. Studies show OTC emergency contraception is safe, does not discourage regular contraceptive use and could cut in half the 50 percent of pregnancies that are unplanned. But can Plan B get a fair hearing when three members of the eleven-member Reproductive Health Drugs committee believe contraceptives promote illicit sex? They are: Dr. Susan Crockett, who considers contraception a scriptural issue; Dr. David Hager, who advocates abstinence as the best birth control for unmarried women; and Dr. Joseph Stanford, who equates contraception and emergency contraception with abortion.

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COMMENT

of people. This one was led by Vietnam veteran Ron Kovic, who had been guest of honor the previous day at a peace party hosted by London Mayor Ken Livingstone. Vanessa Redgrave, unfussed about security, threaded her way through the crowd handing out leaflets for a symposium about Guantánamo and human rights led by distinguished lawyers. Someone had poured red ink into the Trafalgar Square fountains so that the water looked like blood; a giant papier-mâché statue of George Bush with a tiny Blair in his pocket was raised and then pulled down at the foot of Nelson's Column. There were costumes and painted faces and plenty of Americans; a young man in a suit carried a placard that read BUSINESS AGAINST BUSH; another had written BUSH GO HOME in pretzels. The carnival feeling contrasted comfortingly with the stiffness of the state visit, as if we were reclaiming London for ourselves. There was also sorrow, not only for the dead and damaged but for our growing sense of disenfranchisement in Britain. Most of the slogans were aimed at Bush, whom we did not elect and have no means of voting out—and to whom our elected leaders have ceded enormous power over our lives.

MARIA MARGARONIS

Maria Margaronis writes from The Nation*'s London bureau.*

Fiasco in Miami

It was as though US and Brazilian trade negotiators feared that if they spent one more minute in Miami, the fragile image of harmony they have struggled to project would shatter into a million pieces. Thus the thirty-four trade ministers gathered here for talks on a proposed Free Trade Area of the Americas were hustled to a photo-op closing of their meeting on November 20, a day ahead of schedule.

The ministers' final declaration essentially lays out a road map for a free-trade nonagreement. Caving in to pressure from Brazil and other nations, US officials agreed to allow countries to pick and choose which parts of the final FTAA they will sign on to, in addition to some minimal, as yet undetermined, mandatory obligations.

If the reaction of the big-business community is any barometer, the new "FTAA à la carte" approach is good news for free-trade critics. Frank Vargo, a vice president of the National Association of Manufacturers, complained that "this is not what we want and we have serious concerns." NAM members had been salivating over the prospect of an FTAA based on the North American Free Trade Agreement, which granted new protections for international investors and stripped the power of governments to impose conditions on foreign investment. But the hollowed-out FTAA approach agreed to in Miami will likely allow Brazil, South America's largest economy, to opt out of regulations that would weaken its ability to regulate foreign investors.

The decision to adjourn early may also have been driven by a desire to escape the clouds of tear gas and general mayhem in the streets of Miami. Some 2,500 law enforcement personnel were deployed to control a crowd that was overwhelmingly peaceful. Even demonstrators who attended the permitted rally were assaulted with rounds of tear gas and rubber bullets. Medics for the protesters reported about 100 injuries, including some serious head wounds. Police arrested more than 200 people over the course of the week, and there were numerous cases of clear misuse of authority. Early in the week, for example, police detained a New Jersey teenager for riding a bicycle downtown in the middle of the night and refusing to tell them what he was doing. His bail was set at $20,000.

The ACLU is gathering evidence of police brutality, and the United Steelworkers of America has called for a Congressional investigation into whether the Miami police violated protesters' rights.

Local residents are also questioning whether the city government overreacted. Miami budgeted some $12 million for costs related to the meeting, most of it for security. Downtown Miami was shuttered for most of the five-day event.

The economic costs are particularly questionable, given that Miami police overestimated the number of protesters by a factor of ten. Law enforcement claimed that as many as 100,000 demonstrators were likely to converge on the city, whereas post-rally police crowd estimates were between 8,000 and 10,000. Rally organizers put the number closer to 25,000, although turnout would have been higher had police not blocked nearly ninety buses carrying retirees from entering the downtown area to participate in the permitted rally and march.

Nevertheless, the broad coalition of groups, including the AFL-CIO, Citizens Trade Campaign, Jobs with Justice, the Miami Workers Center and others that came together for Miami were successful in pulling off the first major anti–corporate globalization demonstration in the United States since 9/11. Despite a difficult organizing environment (local Spanish-language TV was particularly hostile to the protesters), crowds for most events all week were large and spirited.

British folk-rocker Billy Bragg was a stalwart presence throughout the week, performing with an ensemble of blues, hip-hop, country and folk musicians at a People's Gala, the rally and an informal reception. "You can't change the world by singing songs," Bragg told a group of protesters at the Doubletree Hotel. "But hopefully we can encourage and inspire the activism that can."

At the rally, AFL-CIO president John Sweeney also proudly announced that the voices of people around the country would be expressed when trade ministers received a half-million ballots against the FTAA, collected nationwide over the past year. (This was in addition to several million more collected in other countries of the hemisphere.)

US trade negotiators were no doubt relieved to be heading back to Washington, far away from their uppity developing-country counterparts and a global justice movement that has regained its momentum.

SARAH ANDERSON

Sarah Anderson, a fellow of the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, DC, is the author (with others) of Field Guide to the Global Economy *(New Press) and* Alternatives to Economic Globalization: A Better World Is Possible *(Berrett-Koehler).*

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

Sacred Rage

BARUCH KIMMERLING

TERROR IN THE NAME OF GOD: Why Religious Militants Kill.
By Jessica Stern. Ecco. 368 pp. $27.95.

MARTYRS: Innocence, Vengeance and Despair in the Middle East.
By Joyce M. Davis. Palgrave Macmillan. 214 pp. $24.95.

ARMY OF ROSES: Inside the World of Palestinian Women Suicide Bombers.
By Barbara Victor. Foreword by Christopher Dickey. Rodale. 292 pp. $25.95.

Since 9/11, terror has become one of the most fashionable issues on both the American and the international agenda, and almost every publisher has rushed to publish a book written by one of the instantly created "experts on terrorism." These "merchants of fear," together with other interested political actors—such as the current leaders of the United States and Israel—thus unwittingly play directly into the hands of the terrorists, whose main objective is less to kill than to sow anxiety and panic. Ironically, from this perspective, Al Qaeda and the US Administration, as well as the Israeli right and Hamas, have a common aim: namely, to increase fear in order to recruit and manipulate their own people against their respective "other."

Historic though it was, 9/11 was neither the first attack against the World Trade Center—the symbol of American strength and values—nor against other grand American targets. During the past two decades, Middle Eastern terrorists have attacked US embassies, military ships and bases, and government personnel. In April 1983 a suicide bomber blew himself up in the US Embassy in Beirut, killing sixty-three people, including seventeen Americans. Six months later another suicide attack killed 241 American servicemen at Beirut International Airport. In 1993 a van exploded in the parking garage of the World Trade Center, killing six and highlighting it as a primary target of Islamist militants on American soil. In a coordinated attack in August 1998, suicide bombers attacked US embassies in Tanzania and Kenya, killing 224 people. Two years later the USS Cole was attacked in Yemen, taking the life of seventeen sailors.

This brief, partial count is presented just to suggest the profound changes that have occurred in postmodern warfare. Many of the world's most volatile conflicts, from Palestine and Afghanistan to Chechnya and Kashmir, pit powerful states against guerrilla or clandestine groups that, in the face of the adversary's overwhelming military superiority, have struck at civilian targets, turning their strategic weakness into a tactical advantage.

Anyone who writes about terrorism is faced with the notorious problem of defining it. One person's terrorist is another's freedom fighter.

The states in question describe this violence as "terror," but the perpetrators and their constituents regard it as legitimate resistance to oppression. The current conflict in Iraq exemplifies this kind of "asymmetric" warfare. When Iraqi loyalist forces realized that they could not confront Anglo-American military might on the conventional battleground, they simply dissolved their army and handed the invaders an easy victory. Once the allied forces entered this trap, the Iraqis (joined, it appears, by foreign Arabs) began waging a highly efficient guerrilla war against them, and against anyone associated with the occupier, including the United Nations. Although they can't defeat the American military, with each attack they can whittle away at the American public's willingness to bear the costs of maintaining an increasingly unpopular occupation. Acutely sensitive to the threat, the

Baruch Kimmerling, George S. Wise Professor of Sociology at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, is the author of two recently published books, Politicide: Ariel Sharon's War Against the Palestinians *(Verso) and (with Joel S. Migdal)* The Palestinian People: A History *(Harvard).*

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American government has denounced these guerrillas as "terrorists."

Anyone who writes about terrorism is faced with the notorious problem of defining it. Even recently drafted international conventions, such as the Rome Statute, have avoided defining it while clearly stating that the intentional killing of civilians is a war crime under any circumstances, regardless of whether the act is carried out by a state or by other groups and even if those responsible regard the deaths as "collateral damage." But exactly who are civilians? This question is not as easy to answer as it seems. Consider, for instance, the case of Israel, a country that defines itself as a "nation in arms," in which civilians serve as soldiers, taking off their uniforms when danger has passed. The distinction between civilian and soldier is even murkier in the case of armed or unarmed settlers in the Israeli occupied territories, who are a clear extension of the Israeli military occupation. Arab defenders of suicide bombing, notably Sheikh Mohammed Hussein Fadlallah, an influential Shiite cleric in Lebanon, have argued that any Israeli is a legitimate target since all Israelis, men and women, serve in the military. As gruesome as this argument may be, it should hardly come as a surprise, since Israel itself fails to recognize such a distinction.

It is, of course, a commonplace that one person's terrorist is another person's freedom fighter. Joyce Davis, Barbara Victor and Jessica Stern are fully aware of this. Thus Stern defines terrorism broadly "as an act or threat of violence against noncombatants with the objective of exacting revenge, intimidating, or otherwise influencing an audience," a definition implicitly accepted by Davis and Victor. In fact, all three books lump together the use of violence by irregulars, guerrilla fighters and even "lone wolves" against military forces under the umbrella of "terrorism," failing to distinguish between legitimate acts of violent resistance, on the one hand, and war crimes, on the other. Nor do any of the books explore the issue of state terrorism, which often forms a bloody cycle with guerrilla terror. To their credit, however, all three authors seek to understand the motivations that lead people to commit acts of terror, without giving up their basic belief that no cause, no matter how just and noble, can justify the indiscriminate killing of innocent civilians. Their books differ widely in emphasis. Davis and Victor focus on political Islam and the Arab-Israeli conflict and their implications for US policy, while Stern examines terrorism in a wide range of contexts, from the Middle East and South Asia to the United States. But each book tries to answer a question raised by Davis, the deputy foreign editor at Knight Ridder: "What is it that would make a person crash a plane into a building, killing himself and everybody else? And what is it that would make a person strap explosives to his body and blow himself up?"

Barbara Victor, who has covered the Middle East for CBS and *US News & World Report*, regards the rise of female suicide bombers, many of them quite young, as one of the most extraordinary aspects of modern terrorism. The conventional wisdom is that they are troubled women who see suicide bombing, the ultimate act of self-sacrifice for the glory of their religion and suffering nation, as the only way to "purify" their honor and that of their family—an issue of supreme importance, especially in traditional Muslim society. However, one of the very first suicide bombers operating against Israeli military forces exploded all the stereotypes connected to this dreadful phenomenon: Loula Abboud, a 19-year-old secular Christian Lebanese girl, commanded a small leftist resistance cell in southern Lebanon against the Israeli invaders. Loula was a beautiful, popular and well-educated middle-class girl, apparently without any social or emotional difficulties. When she blew herself up in front of a group of Israeli soldiers in 1985, she became a Palestinian and Lebanese heroine and a model for Palestinian, Tamil, Kurdish and Chechen suicide bombers of the future, including the first female operating inside Israel, Wafa Idris, who blew herself up in January 2002. In the Tamil and Kurdish movements, women are responsible for more than a third of suicide attacks.

The rise of female suicide bombers, from the Middle East to South Asia, is one of the most extraordinary aspects of modern terrorism.

Victor recounts the story of the Palestinian revolution and resistance since the first intifada, through the narratives of several Palestinian women who became, or attempted to become, suicide bombers. She interviewed family members of the bombers, women in Israeli prisons who were caught by the Israelis on the way to commit the action, Israeli and Palestinian politicians and Muslim religious leaders (including Hamas leaders Sheik Ahmed Yassin and Dr. Abdel Aziz al-Rantisi, whom Israel recently attempted to assassinate) as well as various "experts" on terrorism. She began her book during an ecstatic mass meeting of Palestinian women with Yasir Arafat in January 2002. At that meeting, Arafat promised full equality between men and women in Palestine and called for women to take part in the armed struggle. Women are not just the "womb of the nation." He told them, "You are my army of roses that will crush Israeli tanks."

It's doubtful that this particular speech inspired the growing number of young Palestinian female suicide bombers, as Victor suggests, but it's a good literary introduction to a subject that has elicited both horror and fascination in the Western media. In fact, years before Arafat's speech, women were active in the Palestinian armed struggle. Is the active participation of women in all roles of this struggle a sign of the development of gender equality in a traditionalist society? Probably not: In most cases, the major role demanded of these women remains reproductive. Women are thus asked to give birth to as many children as possible in order to win the demographic race between Jews and Arabs within Palestine. Because of the highly vulnerable position of girls and young women in traditional society, carrying out "patriotic" acts may indeed, at times, be a way of running away from personal troubles. The Algerian revolution too provides a grim prognosis on the issue of women's liberation. There, women were full partners with men in the revolution. After independence was achieved, they were expected to return to their traditional roles in a deeply patriarchal society.

Unlike Victor and Davis, who focus exclusively on the Middle East, Jessica Stern takes her readers into the long cross-cultural and winding journey through the dark or glorious (depending on the point of view) business of terror. And a business it is, quite literally. As Stern shows, terror has evolved sometimes in recent years into a highly organized affair, with its own byzantine infrastructure. Exploring the organizational and structural aspects of terrorism, she makes some useful analogies to other types of organizations, notably the virtual communities on the Internet. As she points out, the ideology, the definition of the enemy, the recruitment and modes of operation are frequently disseminated over the Internet, as well as by satellite television and videotaped broadcasts. For example, Al Qaeda—literally "the base"—is said to have originated as a web list of jihadists scattered around the globe,

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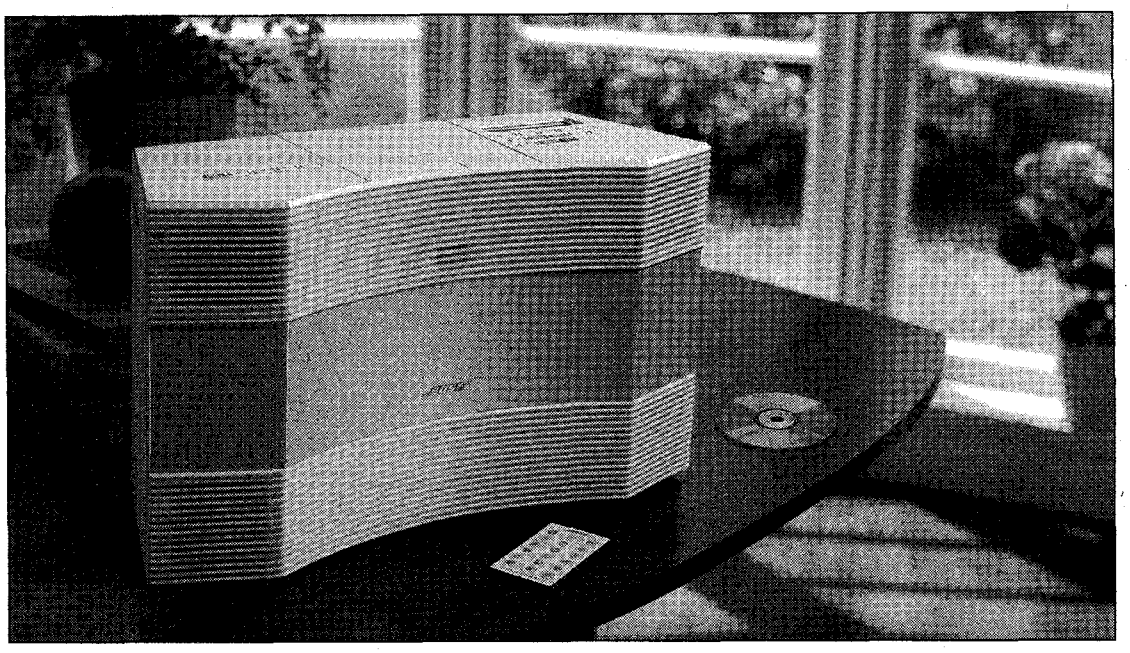

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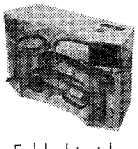

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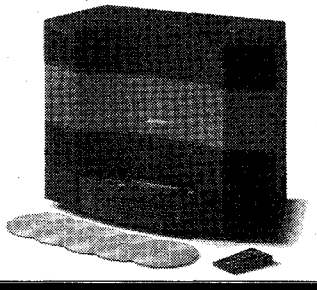

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bound largely by shared enthusiasm for holy warfare. Every terrorist can thus become a lone wolf or operate within a very small group in which one person is recruited by another. Other organizations are formed by small, unconnected cells, which makes surveillance and infiltration by intelligence agencies or other rivals or enemies very difficult. What is more, the capture of one cell does not endanger the whole organization. The most highly structured terrorist organizations function like states within states, as in Pakistan, whose intelligence service, the ISI, has offered crucial support for the Taliban and the Kashmiri jihadists. Groups like Hezbollah and Hamas have hierarchically organized leadership, operations and intelligence branches, training camps, independent school systems, industrial and commercial enterprises, charity and welfare systems (to reward supporters, including the families of the "martyrs"), and public relations bureaus. Several groups pay salaries to their operatives and officers or make welfare payments to bereaved families. Stern also believes in the existence of transnational terrorist networks that support each other through the acquisition of weapons and other materials, training and exchange of information. As such, organizations with completely different ideologies and aims form relationships of cooperation. If Islamist terrorism has a "global reach," as the State Department insists, America's belligerent effort to "remake the Middle East" by force is an important reason why.

The social origins of terrorists cut across class divisions, contrary to the notion that terrorism springs mainly from material deprivation, a misperception that has lingered despite the fact that most of the September 11 perpetrators were of middle-class origin. While researching her book, Stern spoke with dozens of alleged terrorists across the world—some of them murderers, others leaders of violent organizations, still others "spiritual" leaders. A number were highly educated, articulate and sophisticated. Some were wealthy or from wealthy families, while others had become rich through organizing terrorist activities and fundraising for them. Others seem indeed clearly poor, materially and socially deprived or schizophrenic and sociopathic. However, most of them offered "rational" explanations for becoming killers, for seducing others to kill or to be killed and for becoming martyrs. Some true believers—Muslim, Christian and Jewish—even tried to convert Stern or at least to convince her of the absolute truth of their vision.

As an American Jew traveling in the Islamic world, Stern naturally raised suspicions among some of her subjects. There is a tense, dark comedy to her exchanges with terrorists that gives her book the flavor of a thriller. During a meeting with Islamic militants in Pakistan, she writes, her hosts

> wanted to look me over for themselves. After they leave, [my guide] tells me that they were trying to determine if I came to Lahore on a mission to kill their leader. They wanted to know if I was there on behalf of RAW [the Indian intelligence service]. Or working for the [Israeli] Mossad. "As a result of their inspection, they have determined that you work for the CIA," my guide informs me, seemingly bemused. I cannot tell whether he concurs with the militants' assessment.
>
> Well, I'm not, I tell him hotly, foolishly. How can you persuade someone you're not working for the CIA? It is clear in any case that speaking with an American woman is a novelty for all three of my new acquaintances. My guide admits that I am the first American he has ever met, and the first Jew he has ever seen.
>
> "Anyway, it's okay; they are flattered if the CIA is interested in them," he says.
>
> "How did they decide that I'm not planning to assassinate their leader?" I ask.
>
> "It is obvious. You can tell a person's

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character by looking into her eyes. You have innocence in your eyes."

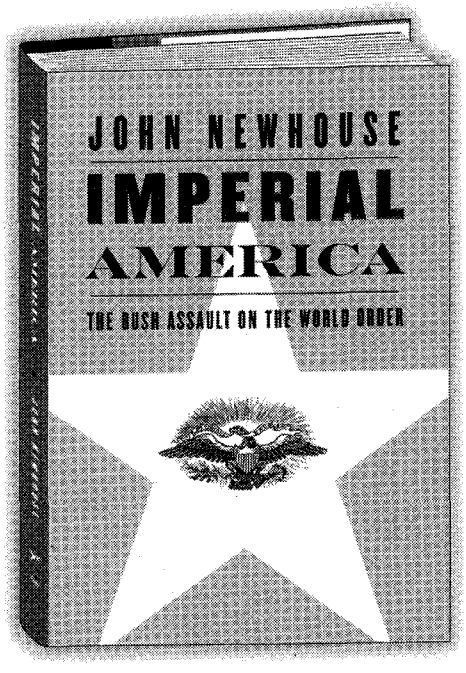
Appearances notwithstanding, Stern is far from naïve and fully appreciates that most of her informers tried to use her for their own purposes, from projecting an exaggerated image of their power to warning their enemies, from raising their profile in the West to winning a place in the pages of history. She therefore tried to check and double-check their stories with intelligence services, which were often no less dubious as sources than her informers. Her own impressions of the interviewees and the atmosphere of the encounters, including even smells, are recounted at length in colorful and, at times, poetic descriptions.

Stern suggests four principal motivations behind terrorism. The first of these is a stark sense of alienation. Here, Stern gives a vivid description and analysis of the American neo-Nazi and Christian cults, notably a white supremacist group in rural Arkansas that aimed at restoring pure white supremacy in the States through the elimination of blacks, Jews and other nonwhite ethnic groups. They "hoped to hasten the return of the Messiah by 'carrying out God's judgments' against unrepentant sinners. They believed that humanists, communists, socialists, and Zionists had taken over the US government. They knew for a fact that Jews, Satan's direct descendants, were working closely with the Antichrist, whose forces included the United Nations, the IMF, the Council on Foreign Relations, the Illuminati, and the 'One-Worlders'.... They had joined forces with other right-wing groups in the hope of destroying what they called the Zionist Occupied Government (ZOG)."

It's not surprising that most religiously motivated zealot groups—Christian, Jewish and Muslim—possess very similar worldviews and vocabularies and, at times, identify similar enemies. The world of the terrorist, regardless of ideology, is divided between the in-group members ("the chosen people") and their dehumanized enemy ("the children of darkness"), a manichean dichotomy that makes killing and self-sacrifice inevitable. Such thinking, Stern notes, permeated the antiabortion terror that plagued America in the 1990s.

The second motive for being ready to kill and be killed—perhaps the most powerful one—is a sense of humiliation. Stern illustrates this point with a comparison of the immense poverty and deprivation of Palestinians in Gaza's refugee camps with the luxurious dwellings of their neighbors, the 6,000 Jewish settlers who compose 0.5 percent of Gaza's population but

John Newhouse shows us the Bush assault on the world order—how our relationship with the world went wrong after September 11, 2001



The *N.Y. Times* calls the book **"A double-barreled attack on American war policy."** "Mr. Newhouse's indictment of Bush's foreign policy," writes Charles A. Kupchan, "appears at an opportune moment, offering a lucid & accessible account of how he says the administration has done more to imperil the United States than to enhance its security... Newhouse recounts the lost opportunities arising from Bush's fixation on Saddam Hussein. The list is long and troubling."

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who hold 42 percent of the land within well-guarded enclaves like Netzarim, while living off Palestinian labor and consuming six times the amount of water as the Arab population. For a population that has been forced into a permanent subordinate position by an occupying power, this disparity is not only a hardship but a searing humiliation as well. As Victor observes, the failure of adults to win the Palestinian struggle and their apparent helplessness in the face of such injustice has bred a generation that is revolting not only against the Israelis but also against their elders, who have been powerless to prevent their children from becoming martyrs.

Stern, who can scarcely hide her moral indignation at the situation in the occupied territories, regards humiliation as a major reason for the appeal of groups like Hamas. In fact, the motivations for violent actions reflect a mixture of causes, including religious fervor, nationalism, poverty, dispossession and a thirst for revenge. "Hardship always brings people back to God," said one leader of Hamas. "Islam distinguishes us in that it prepares people to die for the sake of Allah." Yet a closer look at Palestinian martyrdom (suicide bombers, for example) suggests that, piety aside, a cruel social calculus is also at work here. When a starving refugee family has ten or twelve kids with no prospects for a proper education, stable employment or suitable marriages, the appeal to "donate" one or two children to Allah becomes very seductive. In exchange, the family receives considerable "charity" funds, honor and social recognition. The potential "martyr," in turn, is promised glory in this world and the next. His videotaped testament is broadcast all over the Islamic (and sometimes Western) world and his photos are carried in mass demonstrations. Moreover, the Garden of Eden is promised not only to him but to his entire family. Sometimes these promises are accompanied by ambiguous sexual afterworld rewards—a clear example of the invention of a tradition by popular Islam.

Stern writes: "When such a person makes a cost-benefit analysis about the value of his life versus the value of his death, he attaches greater value to death—both for his country and for himself. This suggests that something is terribly wrong—either with him, his training, or with his situation." As an Israeli who was educated with the slogan "it is good to die for our country" and the eulogizing of Samson- and Masada-style suicidal "heroism," I cannot agree more with Stern's observation. Japanese kamikaze pilots are another celebrated example of the ways in which some cultures blur the boundaries between soldiers and martyrs more than others.

The third motive for terrorism and massacres, according to Stern, is the struggle for demographic supremacy by one ethnic or religious group over the other within a certain territory. In Indonesia, she observes, Suharto's efforts to resettle Muslims from densely populated regions in sparsely populated Christian areas destabilized the delicate ethnoreligious balance and provoked large-scale massacres of Muslims by Christians, followed by massacres of Christians by Muslims. The Indonesian case has an overt connection to the original Afghan jihad against the Soviets. Some Indonesian veterans of the Afghan war formed a militia, Laskar Jihad, to fight a Christian militia.

Motivations for terror reflect a mixture of causes, including religious fervor, nationalism, dispossession and a thirst for revenge.

Beyond the mutual atrocities, what is interesting in this case, and in those of Kashmir, Pakistan and Egypt, is the direct impact of the Afghan war on the spread of worldwide Islamic militancy and terror groups, including Al Qaeda. The long fight in Afghanistan attracted sympathizers from all over the globe (much like the Spanish Civil War) to defend the country of believers against the *kuffar*, or infidels. There they received training, mainly from the CIA, learned to use a wide variety of arms and explosives, acquired combat experience and achieved a sense of power, pride and comradeship as a result of the final victory. After the Soviet defeat, they exported the Afghan-style Islamist revolution to every possible corner of the world in which Islamic communities exist. The veterans of this war may be found in Pakistan and India, northern and equatorial Africa, Lebanon, Palestine, Chechnya, Bosnia, the United States and, quite possibly, Iraq, where an unknown number of foreign Arabs have joined Iraqis fighting the occupation.

The last motive for terrorism mentioned by Stern is the one that she mistakenly classifies as "history." Here, she refers mainly to the Jewish messianic groups that planned to destroy the Muslim Holy Sanctuary in Jerusalem, which was supposedly built on the site of the Jewish Temples. There was also a realpolitik aspect of the plan—stopping Israel's withdrawal from the Sinai following the Camp David peace accords with Egypt—but the larger goal was messianic in nature. By blowing up the third-holiest Islamic religious site, they hoped to cause such an uproar in the Islamic world that the whole process of reconciliation would come to an immediate end. They believed that the destruction of the mosque would ultimately precipitate an apocalyptic war that would hasten the coming of the Messiah, the reconstruction of the Third Temple and the reign of the Lord on the earth. The plan was not carried out because, according to their testimony, they failed to find a great rabbinical authority to bless it. Next time, one fears, they may have more luck and find such a blessing. Of course, the motive for this assault had nothing to do with history; it was rooted in a fanatical interpretation of biblical "history" and other texts from Jewish scripture. In this the religious right in Israel has much in common with the radical Islamists who are their most bitter adversaries.

Contemporary Islamists, after all, look back to their own Golden Age, when they developed a great civilization of philosophers, scientists, merchants, medics, poets and military geniuses who almost succeeded in conquering all of Europe. They compare this with their current situation. The corrupt, despotic Arab regimes that were unable to solve social and economic problems did have enough power to destroy all civil democratic opposition, but could not overcome fundamentalist Islamic groups. Most of these regimes have received the steady support of the United States. America, as a representative of the victorious West and as a prime backer of the Arab regimes and of Israeli policy, is regarded, both by Arab elites and ordinary people as being responsible for their misery. Davis, Stern and Victor all agree that if we are to stop the flow of young Arab recruits to groups like Al Qaeda, moral, ideological and economic pressures will be more effective than military campaigns. The majority of Muslims, even those who reject Western values and regard the current era as a regression to the pre-Islamic age of barbarism (*jahaliya*), are not supporters of a worldwide holy war, and they can become allies in an effective fight against terror. Davis warns, however, against too close an association with oppressive Arab regimes, even if they do fight the militant Islamists in their own countries. Supporting such governments—along with the invasion and occupation of Iraq and uncritical backing of Israeli expansion in the occupied territories—merely increases enmity toward the West.

In their classic study *Terror and Taboo: The Follies, Fables and Faces of Terrorism* (1996), Joseba Zulaika and Bill Douglass write that "regarding terrorism, the brandishing of stark facts goes hand in hand with

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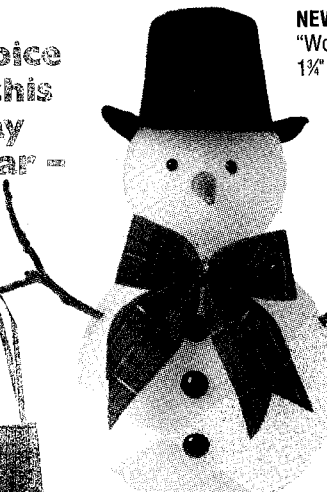

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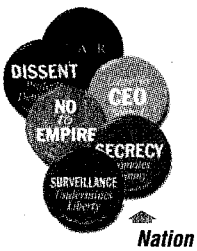

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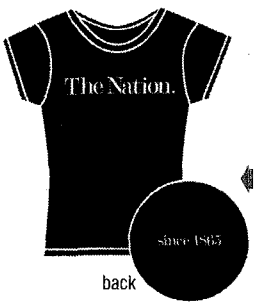

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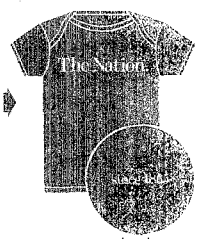

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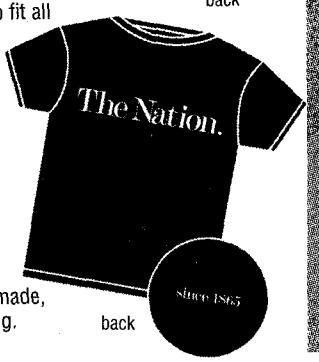

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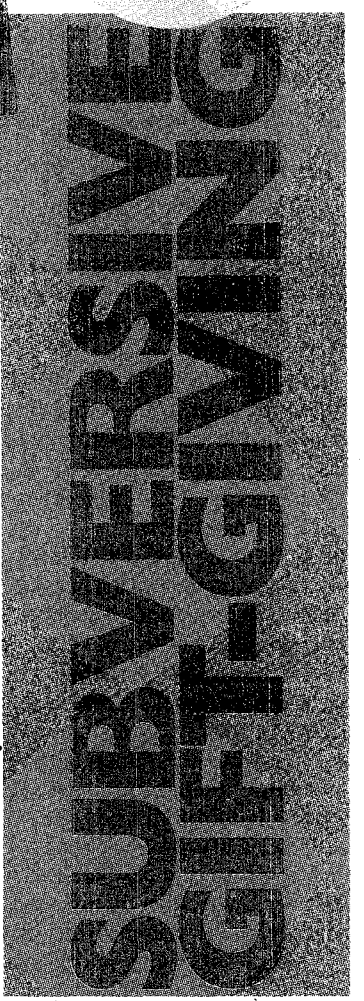

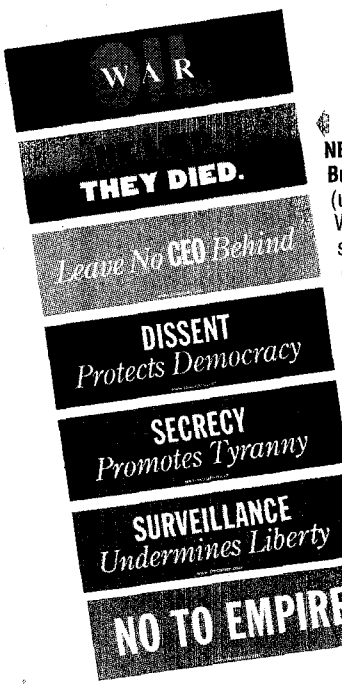

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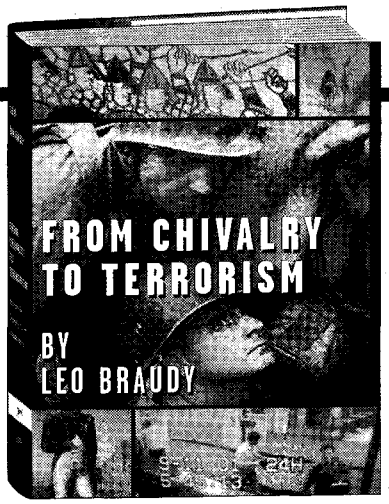

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great leaps into discursive fantasy." Terrorism is a genuine malady of our time, but it has evolved into a discursive fantasy, used and abused by the rulers of some states, under the cover of "fighting terrorism," for achieving completely different and contradictory aims. Neither the American war in Iraq nor Ariel Sharon's war against the Palestinian Authority and people is likely to eradicate terrorism. On the contrary: The result of "antiterrorism" is invariably to heighten the desperation of weak and wretched groups and to multiply their incentives to strike back with terror. ■

Not Beloved

THULANI DAVIS

LOVE. By Toni Morrison. Random House. 202 pp. $ 23.95.

Toni Morrison's slim new novel, *Love*, may seem, at first glance, to fit within a group of books one could crudely call Morrison Lite, not requiring any heavy lifting from the reader like her masterpieces, *Beloved* and *Song of Solomon*. But the appearance is deceptive. A distillation of many of her earlier themes, notably the theft of girlhood and wars over times now gone, *Love* is a rich parable about the damaging past as a demagogue ruling the present. And as with a number of her books, the story is passed from one character to another and gathers details and clarity as it is seen from one angle, then the next. Like a multifaceted stone, this intimate tale of seven women and one man is cut to refract the light as each of its characters sees it, turning their eyes round a reflecting center.

That center, the late Bill Cosey, the owner of a once-popular black beach resort in the South, is the most prominent ghost in the novel, and as such he can seem empty like glass, idealized by memory like the moonlight on his hotel's Sooker Bay. In other lights, he is cold, foolish or corrupt. But like other Morrison ghosts, Bill Cosey represents that damaging past. In the novel's present, his child bride, Heed, and granddaughter, Christine, the only survivors of a much-romanticized past, are in a bitter struggle over ownership of his property, symbolized by a will written on an old hotel menu. When a streetwise and homeless young woman named Junior Viviane comes to their home to work for Heed (and, Junior quickly realizes, to help Heed secure control of the estate), memories are set free and a final battle is put into motion. In the course of this battle, the stories of all of Cosey's women emerge, as well as a picture of a community of women that seems helpless, contentious and hateful.

Heed (her full name is Heed the Night), Cosey's tenacious widow from the wrong side of the tracks, calls him "Papa" and prefers to remember him as the "wonderful man" who "picked her out of all he could have chosen. Knowing she had no schooling, no abilities, no proper raising..." Christine, Heed's childhood friend, is a three-time runaway, a refugee from marriage and the Black Power movement. She sees herself as "the one left behind, Miss Second Best" and views Cosey as her betrayer. The two are caught in a fight to the death.

Love opens with a Morrison overture, weaving strains of the novel's poetry into a mysterious beckoning into the story and the company of the ever-present ghost. This prologue is titled "Love"—one of the rare occasions in the book when the word is actually used. The narrator, slyly named only L., grabs her victims by the eyeballs with one of the author's startling first sentences: "The women's legs are spread wide open, so I hum."

L. is herself a ghost, who explains that she is "an old woman embarrassed by the world," and romances us into the 1940s, when "Cosey's Hotel and Resort was the best and best-known vacation spot for colored folk on the East Coast." The hotel, where L. was the well-loved cook, bragged of names from a glamorous past—Lil Green, Fatha Hines, Jimmy Lunceford—and the perfection of places long gone; it "had more handsome single men per square foot than anyplace outside of Atlanta or even Chicago." Despite the hyperbole, the easy living 1940s milieu at the heart of the book feels lived down to the lemon cake, and the good times feel like familiar kitchen-table stories.

If Cosey is the enticing face of black success in "George Raft suits," then L. is the black woman downstairs stirring the pots, raising the children, keeping the se-

Thulani Davis is a novelist and a senior editor at the Village Voice.

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crets, who leaves his funeral walking the beach in three-inch heels. L., whose name no one can remember, knows love as mercy. She is a perfect rendering of those shadowy African-Americans—surrogates and enablers—Morrison describes in a collection of lectures, *Playing in the Dark*, as lurking, ignored, yet defining all others in so much American fiction. She is an invention of the later Toni Morrison, a compassionate mediator between warring extremes.

Love's setting evokes places in Florida or the Carolinas where black beach towns once flourished, but does not attempt any particular regional flavor or history. This resort was a cosmopolitan enclave where folks came from all over—sought out in part because it was for the select few and excluded the nearby African-Americans who might have brought in the local flavor. The fault lines of class difference and class pretension are carefully delineated. The regular folk lived in Up Beach, which of course was not by the beach, and worked in a cannery that sent the occasional bad odor toward the luxury hotel.

Morrison painstakingly describes the privilege of those with diamond stickpins, fine cigars and monogrammed silver, pointedly contrasting it with a world in which a child's bedroom is a luxury. Up Beach folk, she tells us, were viewed by the elite as "beach rats who bathed in a barrel and slept in their clothes," who "never used two pieces of flatware to eat." While less artful writers often produce caricatured upper-class blacks, Morrison creates a believable crew of upper-crust Negroes who send their kids to boarding schools, know how to "dress a bed," set a table and be discreet with their indiscretions.

Less successful is the attempt to limn Heed's struggle to elevate her Up Beach speech to leave an educated impression when she hasn't been to school. While the laughter over her mistakes is apt for those characters who hold themselves superior, some of the errors—saying "professionate" for professional or calling a man "very marriage-ing"—strain belief, like taking salad made with mayonnaise to the beach. The looming "police-head" ghosts that threaten reckless women and unruly children don't seem to fit or to be needed; the humans in a Morrison novel are much scarier. But these are quibbles.

Each chapter title names an archetypal male role, such as Friend, Benefactor, Lover, Husband, Guardian, Father. Fortunately, Morrison takes an oblique angle on these terms. Besides, her character Cosey rarely fulfilled any of those roles for anyone. Instead, one finds love confused with infatuation, lust, possession, masochism, delusion. There is love as substitution, love as mourning. Love as expecting abandonment and getting it. Love as habit, hate, charity and, just once, love as the real thing.

"Each story has a monster in it who made them tough instead of brave," L. says. "All over the world, traitors help progress" by strengthening the survivors. Morrison's traitors often liberate those around them, but seldom without high cost. If Cosey is *Love*'s monster, then *Love* shows the many uses people make of such a person.

Vida, a grateful former employee of Cosey's hotel, says "his pleasure was in pleasing." Her husband, Sandler, who took the man fishing and liked him, remembers a calculating Cosey saying, "If you kill the predators, the weak will eat you alive." The couple was liberated by Cosey from a destiny of struggle, maybe impoverishment. The cost, though, was to live with lies. Romen, the grandson they are raising, is liberated, in a manner of speaking, from teenage-macho posturing and fear of his own sweet nature by working in the Cosey house. Junior, Heed's assistant, seduces him into kinky sexual trysts. Junior is momentarily liberated from not belonging, from shutting

MARTIN DUBERMAN

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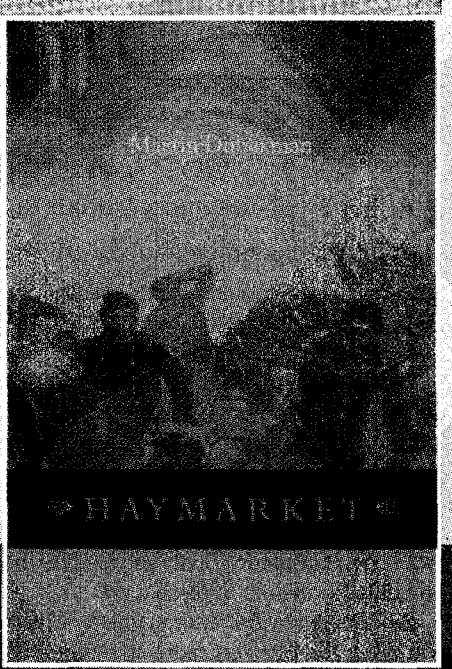

"This wonderful novel is built around Chicago's Haymarket Riot in 1886... [a] deeply moving tale that works as both love story and political statement." – **Jay Freeman, *Booklist***

"...Martin Duberman has written an exemplar of what a political novel can be in the early 21st century. Captivating in its characters and compelling in its historical accuracy, *Haymarket* captures radicalism's heart.... Duberman has written a novel about what makes us American." – **Neil Gordon, New Fiction Forum Editor, *Boston Review***

"This book brings to exciting life a haunting episode in the ever-moving history of American labor." – **Vivian Gornick, author of *Fierce Attachments***

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out memories of a dead father, and thinks of Cosey as her "Good Man," with "kind eyes that promised to hold a girl steady on his shoulder while she robbed apples from the highest branch." The cost of their fling could be someone's death.

May, Cosey's devoted daughter-in-law, was saved by marriage from one stifling life only to end up a servant in another. As Cosey saw it, she fit into his world well because she "showed signs of understanding what superior men require." But when he dispossessed her, it cost her her sanity. Last, Celestial, a familiar Morrison spirit, grew up in a household of sporting women. She may also have been a child rescued by Cosey's son. Her love for Cosey cost her her dignity.

"Each had been displaced by another; each had a unique claim on Cosey's affection," Morrison writes of the women in *Love*. Her target, however, seems to be patriarchy and the ways women have accommodated it by mistaking entrapment for love. All in all, the women of this novel are helpless in Cosey's world and have no ability to make change inside marriages, low-wage employment, prostitution and, especially, girlhood. They fight petty domestic wars. More than loving Bill Cosey, they obeyed him.

There are curious echoes of *Sula* in *Love*, such as crazy May "turning...to the cooler side of the bed" as she dies, just as Sula does. Yet in the new novel, Morrison rejects some of the solutions of her earlier characters. "There's not much sense," she writes in *Love*, "in wasting time and life trying to put a woman in the asylum just to end up chipping ice for her to suck on," a prominent choice made in the earlier novel. "Where's the gain in setting fire to the nest you live in if you have to live in the ashes for fifty years?" L. asks, again recalling a vivid central image in *Sula*. In *Love*, she pointedly revisits the deadly poisonous weeds in *Sula*'s first sentence. Is this recurrence accidental or the insistence of a repeated theme?

The love almost defeated in this novel is the same love as in *The Bluest Eye* and *Sula*, and shown in other forms in *Jazz* and *Paradise*—a love with roots in girlhood, like that of Pecola and Claudia, Sula and Nel. Theirs is a love that unfolds hearts that have been closed by the discovery that mothers can turn away from a child's loving gaze or that, to quote *Jazz*, "no one loves them because they are not really here." While *Love* may not have the disturbing beauty of *Sula* or Morrison's other great novels, its mercies may bring a wider audience into her contentious, rewarding universe. ■

FILMS

Second Comings

STUART KLAWANS

21 GRAMS • MASTER AND COMMANDER

To the fleet of symbolic vehicles currently cruising the screen—their number includes the "Pussy Wagon" that Uma Thurman (in *Kill Bill*) coldly claims as her own—we may now add Benicio Del Toro's pickup in *21 Grams*. As Jack, an incompetent petty criminal who has found religion, Del Toro wins the truck in a contest and paints the message "FAITH Jesus Saves" across its tailgate, perhaps out of pride as much as a spirit of Christian witness. "Jesus gave me that truck," he insists fiercely, early in the film, to someone whose belief is less aggressive than his own. If so, then Jesus must have had a dark purpose in handing over the keys. *21 Grams* is the story of how Jack's Salvation-mobile wipes out three lives and leads to the protracted ruination of three more.

As directed by Alejandro González Iñárritu (*Amores Perros*) from a screenplay by Guillermo Arriaga, *21 Grams* makes a picture-puzzle out of this moral tale, teasing you with a scrambled chronology. The film begins by offering discontinuous glimpses of three unconnected characters, then flashes a preview of the climactic moment, when all three somehow come together in a bloody motel room. You understand that the worst has already happened. The trick is to figure out when, where and why the primal scene plays out, and perhaps to guess whether Jesus saves any of these people.

I can see why many viewers have found this to be a puzzle worth solving. Piece together the theme, and you see that *21 Grams* is about people who get the second chance we all want but would most likely

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flub. Jack, who has been released from jail, at first makes a go of the straight life but then drives his new faith smack into disaster. Cristina (Naomi Watts) overcomes a drug habit and achieves domestic happiness; but later, under a burden of grief, she crumples catastrophically. Most dramatic, or melodramatic, of the three characters is Paul (Sean Penn), who literally gets a new life, through a heart transplant operation, yet goes on with his killing old ways.

As you might expect with such a high-powered cast, the characters' opportunities are not just blown but dynamited. Watts brings to her role the same gift for reckless, hyperventilating distress that she used in *Mulholland Drive*, the difference being that here she isn't playing everything between quotation marks. Del Toro, master of the funky pause, throws the audience off balance with every gesture and utterance, like a boxer toying furiously with an opponent. (He hasn't had a role this rich since *Traffic*.) The part that's trickiest (for reasons I'll soon sketch out) goes to Penn, who brilliantly turns the character's opacity to his advantage. He makes Paul not just duplicitous but aloof, as if this man were already observing himself from beyond.

These performances are all the more explosive for González Iñárritu's virtuoso direction and for the work of his extraordinary cinematographer, Rodrigo Prieto. Every once in a while, Prieto manipulates the colors to give a sense of something otherworldly hovering over these characters—for example, in an image of black birds flying in a dense flock across blue and maroon clouds. For the most part, though, the camera stares with scrupulous meanness at scenes that are lit to emphasize the grungy detail, or probes (with handheld urgency) into the movement of the actors' faces. There's a close-up of Paul's wife (Charlotte Gainsbourg), positioned toward the left of the screen, that's shot through a lens that merges her a little with the background, into the background, so that at a moment of speechless exasperation she seems physically near but psychologically distant. It's an image worthy of Kieslowski. I could say the same for many of the shots in *21 Grams*.

Unfortunately, though, I can't say for sure who Sean Penn is supposed to be, or even what he does for a living. He claims to be in love with mathematics (a likely story!), and I think the word "students" went by in half a line of dialogue; but whether the character teaches in a college or devises risk-assessment models for investment firms or devotes himself to deep research of the racing form, I just don't know. I don't know what his British-born and conspicuously fashionable wife is doing with him in a lackluster US city, or how she got there from London. Worst of all, I can't imagine what drove him to a crazy entanglement with Naomi Watts, other than her good looks and the conceit of the screenwriter.

And if Penn's character seems groundless, what can I say for the setting? *21 Grams* takes place in a city that enjoys picturesque fall foliage and yet is surrounded by high desert. The end credits explain the anomaly; González Iñárritu shot in Memphis and Albuquerque and then pretended they were the same. Having first conceived *21 Grams* for Mexico City, he later chose to transfer the story to the middle of the United States, "middle" in this case being a stretch of 2,000 miles.

When B. Ruby Rich reviewed *Amores Perros* in these pages, she complained there was too little of Mexico in the movie and too much of international-style flash. I might concur and describe *21 Grams* as González Iñárritu's next step away from home, into Neverland. But, that said, why should I deny him the fun (and the torture) that Hollywood has offered so many European-born filmmakers, or demand that he (unlike Lubitsch or Wilder or Preminger) be a credit to *la Raza*? The major fault of *21 Grams*, I think,

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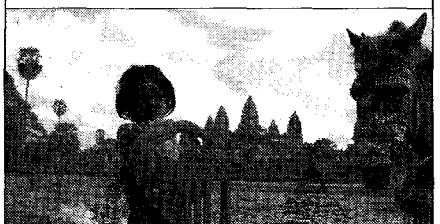
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is not ethnic or national inauthenticity but rather (to go back to Del Toro) bad faith.

As the puzzle pieces come together, as improbabilities copulate and symbols multiply, you realize that the melodrama of *21 Grams* is entirely at odds with the performances and cinematography. The style, despite the obvious mixing of Albuquerque and Memphis, aims to persuade you that you're watching a concrete world. The content, thanks in part to the Neverland setting, suggests the workings of a mysterious force, which arranges the characters' destinies and metes out a justice no one quite understands. But how can these people be called to account, if something unknown compels them to be who they are? And why hold them responsible for the consequences of nasty events that don't arise from their actions but rather are sprung on them? The moral story turns out to have no moral at all; the vehicle of FAITH slams into phantoms.

So the question that *21 Grams* poses turns out to be different from its explicit (and self-answering) riddle, "What is the weight of a soul?" The real question is, "Can realism be reduced to nothing more than a look?"

The answer is, "Yes—and it shouldn't be."

I'm sorry to say I have not read Patrick O'Brian's novels, which so many people have recommended to me; and so, like a fire-deprived critical primitive, I can't strike their steel against the flint of *Master and Commander: The Far Side of the World*. All I can do, by way of providing a few sparks, is to talk about the erotic charge of the movie, which turns out to be powerful and strange.

This adaptation, by Peter Weir, of two of O'Brian's books begins in 1805 off the coast of Brazil, where the crew of the H.M.S. Surprise is lying in wait for a Napoleonic privateer, the Acheron. After a disastrous first engagement, the Surprise pursues the Acheron around Cape Horn and into the Pacific Ocean. There, whenever Captain Jack Aubrey (Russell Crowe) is not busy fighting the French, the ship's surgeon, Stephen Maturin (Paul Bettany), delights himself by discovering new species in the Galapagos.

All this takes months, of course, during which time the sailors neither visit a port nor serve one another's needs on board—not in front of the camera, anyway. They are a very, very, very chaste crew of rum-sozzled roughneck Englishmen. So where, you ask, is the sex?

It's there from the first wordless, nocturnal sequence, in which the camera follows a prowling character through the sleeping quarters below deck, where rows

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of hammocks, seen from below, swing from the ceiling like multiple scrotums. Perhaps the penis is Russell Crowe himself, who makes his first appearance only semi-dressed, bursting erect from the captain's quarters through doors that part like a loosely buttoned fly. Never mind that the Surprise, like all ships, is called "she." Weir conceives of it as a huge male body, which is literally suffused with its crew's blood.

Before you conclude I've gone off the deep end, let me explain that I didn't start out looking for sexual overtones in *Master and Commander*. Having seen the film on its opening weekend, after reviews had appeared, I was puzzled that so many people had called the film thrilling, breathtaking, stupendously entertaining. You might have thought these writers were describing *The Adventures of Robin Hood*, rather than a movie that lingers over the amputation of a young boy's arm. Sailors are lavishly blown apart; a skull is opened and the brains probed before a fascinated crew; in one extended scene Maturin even performs surgery on himself, digging into his own guts while watching the spectacle in a mirror. Even during the *longueurs*, when male bodies are not being ripped into, Weir reminds you of the permeability of flesh by providing all the actors with highly visible scars.

So it came to me: The penetration of male bodies is what's thrilling about *Master and Commander*. (How's that for an S&M title?) The infliction and endurance of pain is the sex, which (seen in this way) is plentiful and very explicit. This isn't to belittle or ignore Weir's meticulous re-creation of nineteenth-century nautical life, or to pass over the magnificence of the seascapes and landscapes, or to neglect Crowe's wonderfully assured performance, which is as self-amused as it is amusing. All this is splendid. I just think there are further attractions to be catalogued.

I wonder if that's what Russell Crowe meant, when he remarked that *Master and Commander* is one enormously expensive art movie. ■

IN OUR ORBIT

Keep on Movin'

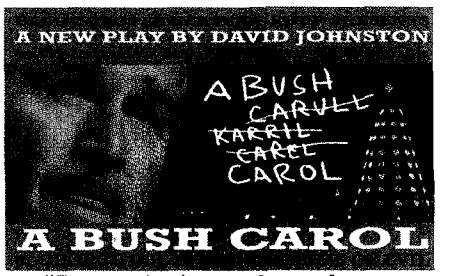
HOPE DIES LAST: Keeping the Faith in Troubled Times.
By Studs Terkel. New Press. 326 pp. $25.95.

One of the nation's finest historians, Studs Terkel has told the story of twentieth-century America through the voices of ordinary people. His books have captured the texture of his subjects' speech while illuminating their experiences of the crises and issues that have defined our times, from work and race to the Great Depression and World War II. In his last book, *Will the Circle Be Unbroken?*, Terkel took on a more intimate topic, that of death and aging, and his latest effort, *Hope Dies Last*, powerfully fuses the personal and the political. Sustaining hope in dark times isn't easy, and sometimes downright impossible. Terkel's definitely hopeful book—a collection of stories about good people weathering bad times—could hardly be more welcome, or more necessary.

As in all of Terkel's books, the yearnings for social justice and a more humane world are at the heart of *Hope Dies Last*, which covers a century of struggle, from the early twentieth century to the present. In the book's opening piece, Representative Dennis Kucinich—a *Nation* contributor and potential candidate for President—explains how his desire to act, to make things happen, sustained his hope through some bruising electoral defeats and, ultimately, some stunning victories. "I had a sense of a connection to my constituency and a sense of purpose in my life. I was separated from that for a long time," he explains. "But it was that calling that kept me moving, trying to re-create possibilities from nothing."

Elsewhere, we hear the stories of folks who survived the Depression and had their hope restored by the government, through the WPA. Victor Reuther regained his faith that things can get better by organizing workers. Tom Geoghegan became a lawyer to "fight for the people with their back against the wall."

"It's a long haul. It's step by step," Terkel notes in his introduction. Still, "As Mahalia Jackson sang out, 'We're on our way'—not to Canaan Land, perhaps, but to the world as a better place than it has been before."



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SHORT, SHARP SOCIALIST seeks same (only taller): 53-year-old woman, Philadelphia. Reply Nation Box #381, The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

PHD ECONOMIST, widower of 3 1/2 years, active, middle eighties, sense of humor, politically active, interested in music, the arts and good food, sociable, financially secure. New York City residence and weekend country home, seeks companion to share time, living and a growth of intimacy. Reply to Nation Box #382, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

If responding to a Nation Box number, send replies to: Nation Box ___, The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

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POLICY

END THE DRUG WAR: See www.drugwarfacts.org, www.medicalmj.org, www.drugsense.org, www.csdp.org.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

FIELD DIRECTOR, FAMILIES USA, the national healthcare consumer-advocacy organization, seeks a person with significant experience to direct its national and state healthcare issue campaigns. Candidates should also have experience with managing grassroots advocacy and e-advocacy. Candidates must have managed and directed a department in an advocacy organization. Candidates must have significant issue campaign experience. Electoral campaign experience is helpful. The position is based in Washington, DC, with moderate travel required. Salary based on experience. Excellent fringe benefits. People of color are encouraged to apply. No phone calls please. Interested candidates should send résumé to Field Director Search, Families USA, 1334 G St. NW, 3rd floor, Washington, DC 20005; e-mail rwise@familiesusa.org. EOE/AA.

THE CENTER FOR JUSTICE, a small, nonprofit law firm that represents the disenfranchised, seeks an Executive Director. The Executive Director must have extensive experience in civil litigation, preferably in areas of public interest, and an inclination toward the protection of civil rights and the environment. Experience in managing a small business or nonprofit preferred. Applicants must be licensed to practice law in Washington State or be eligible through reciprocity. Cover letters and résumés to Jim Sheehan, Center for Justice, 35 W. Main St., Ste. 300, Spokane, WA 99201. E-mail jsheenhan@cforjustice.org.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: The Innocence Project, Inc., seeks an Executive Director to build and manage its operations at a critical stage in its growth. Founded in 1992 by Prof. Barry Scheck and Peter Neufeld as a clinic at Cardozo Law School, the Project represents prisoners for whom postconviction DNA testing can prove innocence and advocates for reform of the justice system. In the coming months, the Project will retain its affiliation with the University while becoming an autonomous 501(c)(3), and seeks a talented and experienced ED to manage its daily operations and strategic development. The ED will work with the Projects founders and staff to build on its success in exonerating the innocent and to transform that success into viable and effective programs for systemic reform. Candidates must have substantial experience in nonprofit management and advocacy; designing and implementing public policy programs, especially at the local level; and fundraising, particularly from foundations. Additional information about the Project is at www.innocenceproject.org; detailed job announcement at www.idealist.org. Applications accepted on rolling basis, with hiring at earliest possible date. Send résumé, letter and 3 references to hr@innocenceproject.org.

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MEMBERSHIP DIRECTOR to provide overall direction, coordination and implementation of its membership growth and retention program. Job requirements include general office management skills and computer expertise. Superior interpersonal skills a must. Familiarity with humanist religion a plus. Generous benefits package. E-mail cover letter, résumé and salary requirements to ethicalculture@nysec.org or fax (212) 595-7258.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

TEACH ENGLISH, computer skills or citizenship preparation. Small, friendly nonprofit in Manhattan needs volunteers to teach Spanish speaking adults. Evening hours. Spanish not required. Call Centro de Educacion de Trabajadores, (212) 765-4634.

PSYCHOTHERAPY

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SAN FRANCISCO PSYCHOTHERAPIST treats depression, anxiety, relationship issues and loneliness. Consultation available. Sliding scale. Paula Holt, LCSW: (415) 289-6990.

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THE KINDERLAND SHULE is a secular Jewish, progressive school for children 6–12, integrating history, literature, Yiddish, arts and social justice. The Kinderland Shule meets Sundays in downtown Brooklyn. For further information: (718) 643-0771, kindercamp@aol.com.

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Buy 10 runs, pay $3.00 per word
Buy 24 runs, pay $2.75 per word
Buy 47 runs, pay $2.25 per word

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Payment in US currency or major credit card must accompany order.

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For all ads please include your name, address and contact phone number with your ad. You can fax your classifieds to us at (212) 982-9000 or e-mail leigh@thenation.com.

Attach ad, typewritten if possible.

The Nation, Classified Department, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003

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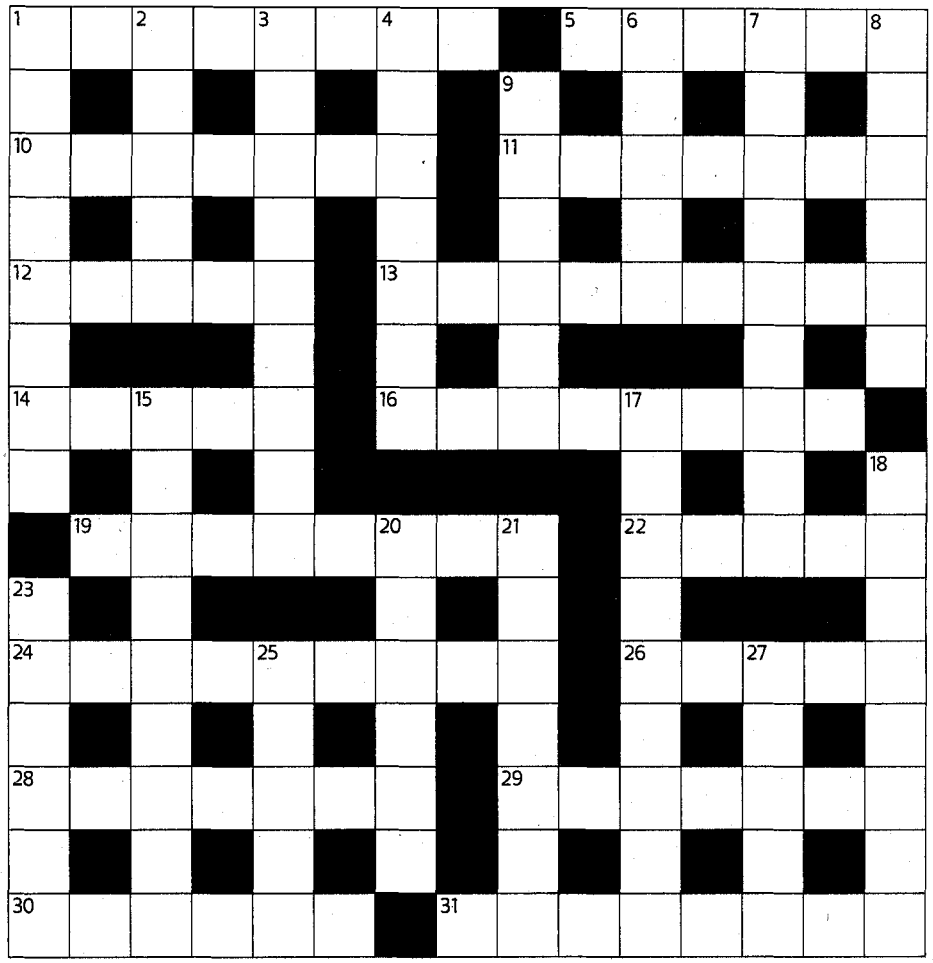
PUZZLE NO. 2919

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and **5** This is what the British call our tempest in a teapot. (5,2,1,6)

10 Does this imply you have only one thing to do, according to your plans? (7)

11 It's associated with charm and good looks—and love in Paris has 1,000 ahead. (7)

12 One of the tribe that wants to do away with you, dear, in Nice? (5)

13 So named because of common sponsors, rather than because such daytime fare may be bubbly. (4,5)

14 Is the biblical author a deranged human? (5)

16 One could hear it associated with a Knight of the Bath. (8)

19 It may be easy to see when followed by a keen beginning, but one should be careful to do it on the road when in England. (8)

22 An eruption of oil worth four pages of print. (5)

24 In Boston it could take your breath away, which is more odd, if a classic fifty is mentioned in it! (9)

26 When a riot breaks out this way, it should be proportional. (5)

28 One of those holy men who comes back with one leg, commonly, being quite a mixed-up thing! (7)

29 Lock-keeper? (7)

30 In such a state the information given is all about a knockout! (6)

31 A satyr is such a beast! (8)

DOWN

1 Things that might make a hit come up on Mr. Crosby—causing such a pain! (8)

2 One of the things the A&P has to stand for! (5)

3 and **25** A dreamy playtime! (9,5)

4 What one might come up in the evening makes it a point to seem wrong, and is right! (7)

6 Shed a tear possibly, with nothing to summon up a muse! (5)

7 One certainly shouldn't pay the long-distance rate for such, but it implies something bad almost happened. (5,4)

8 and **18** The pay the miners ask for, theirs being not just like a door-to-door business. (6-2-6)

9 A title of honor that implies a respect for age, which on the street makes you filled with fright! (6)

15 Such a bag shows you possess some wine, which is just about right. (9)

17 One who judges might rub the wrong way on his makeup, which shows how to brighten things up. (9)

18 See 8

20 A sweetheart years ago, showing how things are lit up. (6)

21 Temporal, but ahead of time around the beginning. (7)

23 Is "dirt" what no man is, as someone said? (6)

25 See 3

27 The keynote of something to pep you up? (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 2718

W	R	I	N	G	O	N	E	S	H	A	N	D	S	■
O	■	M	■	O	■	E	■	O	■	P	■	I	■	F
R	A	I	N	B	O	W	■	M	O	R	I	S	C	O
K	■	T	■	E	■	S	■	N	■	I	■	P	■	O
W	E	A	L	T	H	■	F	O	U	L	B	A	L	L
I	■	T	■	W	■	P	■	L	■	■	■	I	■	■
T	■	E	L	E	V	A	T	E	■	F	I	R	S	T
H	■	■	■	E	■	R	■	N	■	R	■	■	■	H
A	R	S	O	N	■	A	N	C	I	E	N	T	■	O
■	■	C	■	■	■	M	■	E	■	E	■	A	■	U
W	R	O	N	G	W	A	Y	■	S	T	A	N	D	S
I	■	U	■	U	■	R	■	J	■	H	■	A	■	A
L	O	R	E	L	E	I	■	O	B	R	E	G	O	N
L	■	G	■	A	■	B	■	K	■	O	■	E	■	D
■	W	E	I	G	H	O	N	E	S	W	O	R	D	S

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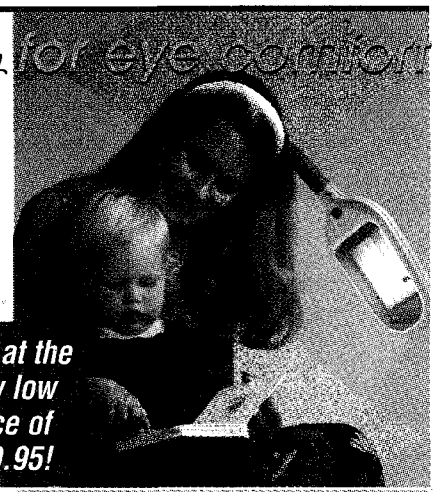
Lighting Technology for eyes comfort

A floor lamp that spreads sunshine all over a room

The Balanced Spectrum™ floor lamp brings many of the benefits of natural daylight indoors for glare-free lighting that's perfect for a variety of indoor activities...now available for under $100!



Ever since the first human went into a dark cave and built a fire, people have realized the importance of proper indoor lighting. Unfortunately, since Edison invented the light bulb, lighting technology has remained relatively prehistoric. Modern light fixtures do little to combat many symptoms of improper lighting, such as eyestrain, dryness or burning. As more and more of us spend longer hours in front of a computer monitor, the results are compounded. And the effects of indoor lighting are not necessarily limited to physical well being. Many people believe that the quantity and quality of light can play a part in one's mood and work performance. Now, there's a better way to bring the positive benefits of natural sunlight indoors.

Use the Balanced Spectrum™ floor lamp...

...for hobbies...

...at work...

...and when you need a source of natural light for close-up tasks.

The Balanced Spectrum™ floor lamp will change the way you see and feel about your living or work spaces. Studies show that sunshine can lift your mood and your energy levels, but as we all know the sun, unfortunately, does not always shine. So to bring the benefits of natural daylight indoors, use the floor lamp that simulates the full spectrum of daylight. You will see with more clarity and enjoyment as this lamp provides sharp visibility for close tasks and reduces eyestrain.

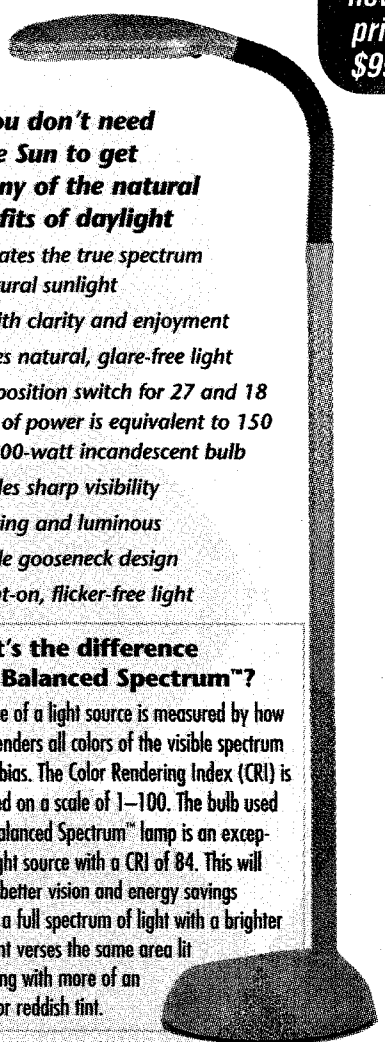
Its 27-watt compact bulb is the equivalent to a 150-watt ordinary light bulb. This makes it perfect for activities such as reading, writing, sewing, needlepoint, and especially for aging eyes.

You don't need the Sun to get many of the natural benefits of daylight

- *Replicates the true spectrum of natural sunlight*
- *See with clarity and enjoyment*
- *Creates natural, glare-free light*
- *Dual position switch for 27 and 18 watts of power is equivalent to 150 and 100-watt incandescent bulb*
- *Provides sharp visibility*
- *Elevating and luminous*
- *Flexible gooseneck design*
- *Instant-on, flicker-free light*

What's the difference with Balanced Spectrum™?

The value of a light source is measured by how well it renders all colors of the visible spectrum without bias. The Color Rendering Index (CRI) is measured on a scale of 1–100. The bulb used in the Balanced Spectrum™ lamp is an exceptional light source with a CRI of 84. This will provide better vision and energy savings through a full spectrum of light with a brighter bluish tint verses the same area lit by lighting with more of an orange or reddish tint.


Height as shown: 50"

Bigger isn't always better. We've looked at lots of lights, but this one offered the benefit of dual light levels of 27 and 18 watts of power. There are bigger, higher wattage lights, but that doesn't make them perfect for reading or close work. This lamp has a flexible gooseneck design for maximum efficiency, with an "Instant On" switch that is flicker-free. The high-tech electronics, user-friendly design, and bulb that lasts five times longer than an ordinary bulb make this product a must-have.

Try the Balanced Spectrum™ floor lamp with this special offer! Due to our overwhelming customer response,

This light can change the way you live and work

As a commercial photographer, I probably give more attention to lighting than most people and therefore was impressed with the smooth, soft daylight quality of your lamp.

Dennis M.
Richmond, VA

I sit in my comfortable chair after my husband has gone to bed, and I turn that lamp on. It makes it so nice because it's like daylight over my chair...I don't get sore eyes like I used to.

Grace A.
Margate, FL

Results may vary.

Technology revolutionizes the light bulb

- *5,000 hours bulb life*
- *Energy efficient*
- *Shows true colors*

TechnoScout can offer this fantastic floor lamp for under a $100. The Balanced Spectrum™ floor lamp also comes with a one-year manufacturer's limited warranty and TechnoScout's exclusive home trial. Try this product for 30 days and return it for the full product purchase price if not completely satisfied.

Balanced Spectrum™ floor lamp was ~~$129.95~~, *now*...

Item# ZY-3269 ..... *only* **$99.95** + S&H

Please mention promotional code 25828.

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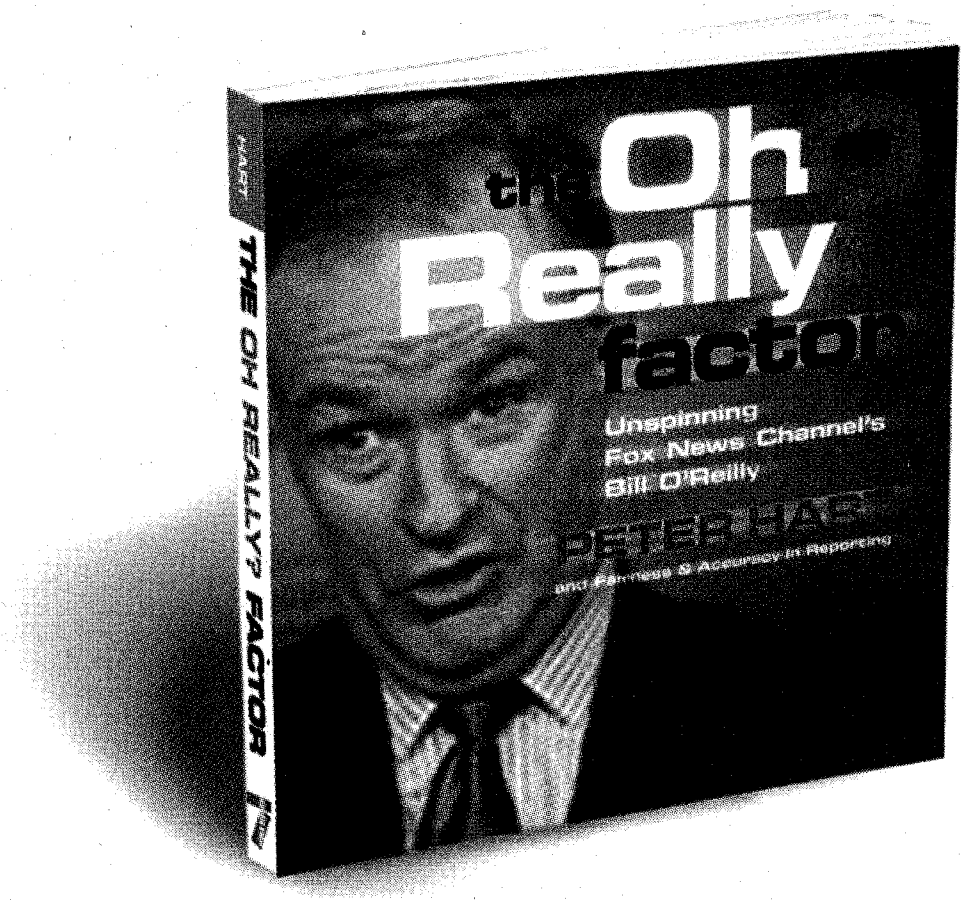
THE OH REALLY? FACTOR



"Peter Hart's book is fair and balanced, and if you don't think so you can sue me." – Al Franken, author of *Lies and the Lying Liars Who Tell Them: A Fair and Balanced Look at the Right*

"Hopefully this book will provide another reason to see through the official 'Homeland' propaganda from the partisans at Fox News." – Janeane Garofalo

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